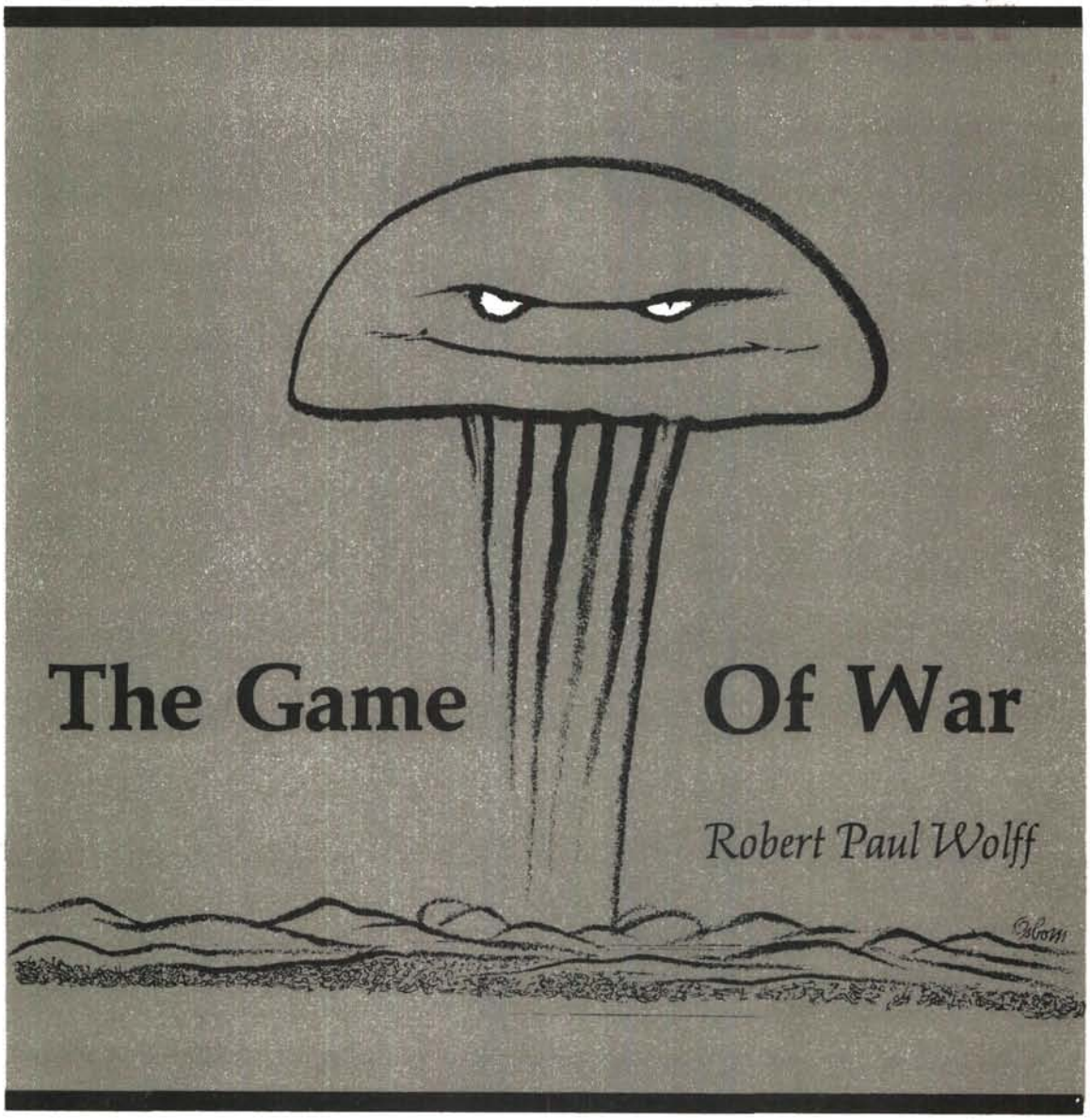
THE NEW REPUBLIC



February 20, 1961, 25 ¢

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Uncommon Law-Breakers

★ Two sets of malefactors went to jail in America last week, each for 30 days. In Philadelphia Federal Judge Ganey sentenced seven executives of giant electrical firms for their part in the biggest antitrust conspiracy in history. Lawyers protested each sentence. Their clients, they urged, were pillars of society, respectable, parents with children in Ivy League colleges. All they had done was carry out company orders to rig prices. Surely nothing uncommon in that. One lawyer pleaded, do not put this man in jail "with common criminals who have been convicted of embezzlement and other *serious* crimes."

The other group sentenced last week were two young women and two young men. They chose jail rather than pay fines. The place – Rock Hill, S. C. In jail they join nine local Negro students sentenced a week earlier. They broke the law by asking service at a segregated drugstore lunch counter and refusing to leave when asked by the manager. A local Episcopalian priest was hustled out of the segregated court when he sat on the Negro side. No lawyer came forward for them to plead leniency because they were members of the community's better element, belonged to good clubs, were vestrymen at church.

No, they were merely humble young people, two of them theology students who had picked up radical notions somewhere, maybe in the New Testament reading about Christ. (Too much religion does that.) The men in Philadelphia will put on a bold face, will laugh at being "jailbirds," will be taken back in their clubs. . . . But they will always carry a stigma. The young people in Rock Hill, S.C., will grow up and depart and maybe some of them will be distinguished; more likely they will be commonplace. But all through their lives they can brace their shoulders and lift their chins and say, "When the test came I went to jail for what I believed right." That is the difference between the two groups of criminals.

It Won't Stay Buried

★ For our sins we found ourself recently discoursing to a dozen rectors of Latin American universities, using the device of simultaneous translation. The teachers had been brought up here by a foundation. We know no Spanish and they knew little English but an interpreter told them what we were saying through earphone sets like those at the UN and then translated their replies back to us. It was hard to establish rapport and forget the translater but the device served pretty well. The question of population explosion came up.

We mentioned the UN Yearbook statistics that from 1950-58 population in Central America grew faster than anywhere else on earth. The total rate in South America was almost as high. Something of a problem, we opined. One of the rectors, a Catholic priest, courteously explained that there are spiritual values in numerous births which do not permit contraceptives under the dogma of his church. Sensing an impasse our group dropped the subject.

But will it stay dropped? Here is a great religion, Catholicism, pitted against a powerful lay religion, Communism. Latin America is just about ready to explode, one imagines, as Africa has done. The Catholic Church is being buffeted in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and particularly wherever poverty, congestion and revolt are most conspicuous. These elements are automatic concomitants of over-population. To the outsider (if anybody can be an outsider to any world problem these days) it looks as though the Church were grimly determined on a suicidal policy to help the population explosion, even though it breeds angry elements ripe for Communism.

Kennedy's Two Opponents

★ Kennedy now offers his fourth big program to Congress – federal aid to education. Earlier ones: health, minimum wage, the economy and the balance of payments. All this in less than four weeks! As expected, there has been a salutary revival of a critical attitude toward the White House. It has come in the controversy over the missile gap. It almost ended in the complacent press toward Eisenhower – a great unfairness to him since every Administration deserves the spur and goad of critical analysis.

Kennedy is doing everything he can to enlarge a razor-edge election victory into massive support and we believe he is succeeding so far. His technique is to present a bleak picture ("an hour of national peril") and follow it up with proposals that, at first anyway, seem moderate. He is occupying a center position as he maneuvers to get the country behind him. He is using every publicity device at command. He has picked a first-rate team. Yet the situation is extremely like a man bound for the hospital on a slippery road: the need for haste is imperative, but the starting move must be gentle or the wheels spin. Many people who voted against Kennedy waited after the election to be shocked; so far his proposals seem plausible and reasonable enough and erstwhile Nixon supporters are getting used to him.

There are two big obstacles in his path, as we see it. One is Congress. His paper majorities mean little. Actually he has just a bare majority as indicated by the 5-vote margin in the House Rules Committee battle. But almost any Congress will go along with a popular President.

Kennedy's real opponent, we believe, is outside Congress. It is the other big power system in America, Big Business. The US Chamber of Commerce is the most influential spokesman against school aid; the Chamber and the NAM are organizing against minimum wage increases, the depressed areas bill. They will join the American Medical Association against the health bill, the real estate lobby against housing. Every reform President has fought bankers and business. Watch and you will see it happen again.

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On May 29, 1957, Earl E. T. Smith, of 1021 North Ocean Boulevard, Palm Beach, Florida, appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for a pre-confirmation hearing as President Eisenhower's nominee to be ambassador at Havana. Like his predecessor, Arthur Gardner of Washington, chairman of the board of the Bundy Tubing Company of Detroit, Mr. Smith offered no evidence of special aptitude for the post. He had had two years at Yale, had succeeded in investment brokerage, was a member of the New York Stock Exchange, had served in the office of Production Management and then in the Army in World War II, and was Finance Chairman of the Republican State Committee in Florida. There were forebodings of deepening trouble then in Cuba. The Batista dictatorship was vainly trying to meet growing opposition with ever heavier oppression. Castro was in the mountains. A question regarding the prudence of entrusting our representation for the second successive time to an amateur in diplomacy with no knowledge of Cuba's delicate and entangled problems may have occurred to some of the Senators, but none articulated it. It was reported at the time that one of the Committee – Senator Kennedy – spoke up in warm endorsement of the nominee's qualifications – a neighborly gesture, for the Smiths live next door to the Kennedy family's Florida estate.

In his year and seven months in Cuba, Smith showed little to justify the Massachusetts Senator's encomiums. It was a time to test the capabilities of even the best – and Smith was not of the best. He had small talent for heading his staff. The bonds of confidence were not strong either way. Our establishment in Havana became badly riven. It would be unfair to infer that the presence of a more adept and seasoned envoy would have made a favorable long-run difference. No one can say. The relevant point is that Smith did not handle himself or the situation with distinction. The principal criticisms of him were that he became amenable to the blandishments of the failing Batista dictatorship, accepted the dictator's assurances of the viability of the regime, and made the error of too closely identifying the United States with the doomed interests of a hopelessly corrupt tyranny. Soon after the advent of Castro he was superseded.

Smith's own apologia reveals his shortcomings more effectively than anything said of him by his critics. It was given in testimony before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate last August 30. It was a patchwork of contradictions. The Batista regime, he then

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said, had unlawfully seized power, was corrupt, and was disintegrating from within. "Batista . . . had been in power too long. . . . Police brutality was getting worse." Yet, he added, "I would say that American business was for the Government of Cuba because the Government of Cuba gave normal protection to American business." Smith came to about that view himself. In his account, if our government had supported Batista to the end, there would have been no end. Those who had seen fatal flaws in the Batista dispensation had "slanted opinions." He had found it necessary, he said, to counteract these opinions: "It was an uphill fight to keep the reports factual." He found the press at fault for writing derogatory articles about the Batista regime. He had scant sympathy for that view which sees a weak reed in dictatorships. In his opinion it was simply a question of whether a tyrant was or was not pro-American.

President Kennedy now wants Ambassador Smith to make a second try at diplomacy as United States Ambassador in Switzerland. The idea has at least the dubious merit of preserving continuity, for the Swiss Government at our request has been exercising diplomatic custody of US relations with Cuba since the closing of our embassy in Havana in January. Our Ambassador to Switzerland will consequently have a focal role in negotiating a rapprochement with Cuba, if and when one is to be negotiated.

The appointment to the Berne post of a person so obviously lacking in the endowments of diplomacy would be undesirable in any event. The Swiss deserve better than this of us. The Cuban angle, however, makes Smith's appointment not just a case of not being good but one of being positively bad. It would be entirely out of keeping with the high purpose enunciated by Dean Rusk at his first press conference as Secretary of State for a collaborative effort in the American hemisphere "to end tyranny, whether of the Left or Right, and to strengthen the economic and social bases of democracy."

The proposed appointment is the President's own idea. High members of the State Department have privately acknowledged that they were not consulted. This may be simply a new gesture by Mr. Kennedy of neighborly regard for the Smiths – an instance of careless cronyism. In that event, it shows an unfortunate insensitivity to the larger requirements of a "good neighbor" policy. The appointment should not go through, and there is time to sidetrack it. The easiest way would be for Mr. Smith himself to do the graceful thing and save his friend's new Administration (and the unhappy Swiss Government) from embarrassment by withdrawing his name. The President himself could well come to a better proportioned view and drop the whole idea. If neither of these ways out are taken, then the Swiss themselves could properly decline to agree to the appointment, for they have made no secret of their chagrin over the prospect of receiving as our envoy a man whose presence would greatly complicate the diplomatic chore which the Swiss undertook when they agreed to become custodian of our relationships with Cuba. If neither Mr. Smith, President Kennedy, nor the Swiss Government should elect the sensible course, then it will fall to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to take a courageous view of its duties in connection with the giving of advice and consent to Presidential nominations. The important thing is that the appointment not go through. The earlier and easier it is stopped, the better it will be for all concerned.

The President and the Aged

The President's proposals on health care for the aged through social security turn out to be a compromise of previous compromises. Having surveyed the field of battle, Mr. Kennedy has executed a tactical retreat. It will not save him from massive attack by the American Medical Association, the conservative business groups and their allies in the Congress.

The White House message of February 9 offers fewer medical benefits to those over 65 than did Senator Kennedy's of last year, far less than the Forand Bill, and even less than Senator Javits would allow. Even so, the Congress may not be willing to swallow it. The chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Wilbur Mills, will not give his name to the Kennedy measure; he has consistently opposed tying medical care to the social security system; nothing, apparently, can pluck him out of the pocket of the AMA Arkansas lobby.

There are more than 15.5 million Americans 65 years of age or older. In 1959, three-fifths of them had less than $1,000 a year on which to live. Yet these are the people, according to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, who "have larger than average medical care needs. As a group they use about two and one-half times as much hospital care as the average for persons under 65." That is the situation to which any program of medical care should address itself. How does Mr. Kennedy do that?

The "absolutely essential needs" he lists are: first, providing the aged who receive either social security or railroad retirement benefits (roughly 14.2 million) 90 days of in-patient hospital services in a single spell of illness with, however, $10 a day to be deducted for the first nine days. (Last year, Mr. Kennedy supported the subsequently defeated Anderson Amendment to the House passed HR 12580, which called for 365 days of hospitalization with an initial $75 deductible.)

Next, the President would allow skilled nursing home services up to 180 days immediately after hospi-

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tal discharge. (The Anderson-Kennedy Amendment made the same provision.) Third, the cost of hospital outpatient treatment, in excess of $20, would be taken care of. And fourth, visiting nurses and related home health services would be available for a limited period of time – the "limited" not being specified. (The Anderson-Kennedy Amendment called for visiting nurse services 365 days a year.)

In addition, though the President did not so state, it is presumed that women of 62 would be eligible, since that is their age of eligibility for social security itself.

How would the program be paid for? Not through general tax revenue but through an increase in social security contributions of one-fourth of one percent each on employers and employees, accompanied by an increase in the maximum earning-base from $4,800 to $5,000 a year. No reference is made to any possible additional rise in contributions in future years, though an increase was recommended in the report submitted to the President-elect on January 10 by the chairman of his health and social security task force, Wilbur J. Cohen, whom Mr. Kennedy subsequently named as an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Were the Congress next week to give the President all that he requests, it would be at least a year before the aged could begin to benefit from the legislation. There are many questions to which the answers are not yet known. For example, who will determine whether a patient should be hospitalized, and how will the hospitals be paid? Will the government negotiate contracts directly with the hospitals or through state welfare organizations or through such voluntary groups as Blue Cross? Who will decide what are or are not proper nursing home fees? Will standards be set federally, state by state, locality by locality, and who will set them?

If the Congress does act favorably, effective demand for medical care by the aged will go up, for the need is there; what has been missing is the means. But will the supply be adequate to meet this increased demand? Apparently there is not too much concern about an insufficiency of hospital beds. The pinch will come in nursing homes. It will also come in the rising call on the services of doctors and nurses, who in many localities are already in short supply.

Mr. Kennedy proposes that something be done about this, but his recommendation, even if accepted, would not soon give us the facilities and medical personnel that are required. He suggests a 10-year expenditure of $25 million for the first year and $75 million thereafter in federal grants on a matching basis for the construction, expansion and modernization of medical and dental schools; federal scholarships equal to $1,500 apiece for one-fourth of the entering students of an institution to be awarded by the institution in proportion to need and with no student receiving more than $2,000; and finally a grant of $1,000 to the institution for each federal scholarship it grants so as to prevent the expansion from increasing present burdens.

Against these recommendations, one must set the fact that in order to maintain the *present* ratio of doctors and dentists to the population and to supply some personnel for overseas assignments, we are going to have to have substantial increases in enrollments at existing medical institutions, plus 20 new medical and dental schools – a 50 percent increase in doctors and a 100 percent increase in dentists over the next 10 years.

The AMA has not even had its tail pulled, but its bark is as loud as ever. It charges socialized medicine, to which the President replies nonsense, since every person "will choose his own doctor and hospital." Mr. Kennedy is not asking that the social security system be used to help older people with their doctors' or surgeons' fees. His recommendations do not include any mention of the preventive side of a health program. It does not provide free weekly or monthly visits to the doctor's office. It does nothing to help the aged pay for the expensive drugs they so often must have. What it says is that when things get so bad that an older person requires hospitalization and subsequent nursing home care, he will have more likelihood of being able to get it.

It is good as far as it goes. Mr. Kennedy has accurately described it, "This is a very modest proposal. . . ."

Lumumba's Murder

The faint glimmer of hope for a broadly based Congolese settlement that had been raised in the past fortnight by leaked stories of a reassessment of US policy toward this most troubled of African nations has been brutally extinguished by the murder in Katanga of Patrice Lumumba. Africa, so far remarkably free of the kind of political assassination that has peppered Middle Eastern history in recent years, is likely to see more of them. Almost certainly, as the first countermove, Lumumba's supporters will be gunning for Katanga's Belgian-supported president Moise Tshombe, whose version of the Lumumba escape is decidedly ambiguous. But if the US follows up Mr. Kennedy's initial statement condemning the murder with some very expert footwork in the UN this week, it may still be possible to gain some leverage on the situation. This is one time when we cannot afford to let the "dust settle" – for if we do, the lines will be firmly drawn for a painful East-West battle in the Congo. This is an extremely grave prospect, which can only be avoided if independent African states (of both radical and moderate persuasion), the Soviet Union and the US conclude soon that civil war is in none of their interests.

When historians one day record the political folly

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of the Lumumba murder, ironic account will be taken of the contrast between the deposed prime minister and the man to whom his mantle will now shift. Lumumba, for all his obvious faults, was a very human African national whose association with the Soviet Union was pragmatic rather than ideological, and who probably contained the seeds of his own eventual political destruction had he been kept in a position of responsibility for any length of time. Antoine Gizenga, the leader of Lumumba's government-in-exile in Stanleyville, is of a different brand: he is a far shrewder and more disciplined politician and his association with the Soviet Union is basically ideological. The West, if it did not panic, might have gotten through to Lumumba in time; it is doubtful if it can ever reach Gizenga.

Collegiate Pecking Order

Parents worried about where Johnny should go to college have long been aware that the wisdom of their choice depended as much on the quality of their child's prospective classmates as his prospective teachers. In a residential college, after all, the average student spends five times as many waking hours with his classmates as with his teachers, and even in a commuter college the choice of friends is likely to make as much difference in intellectual and social development as the choice of courses.

Unfortunately, it is much easier to get information about the quality of faculties than about their students. By reading book reviews, articles on Noble Prizes, the upper-middle brow magazines, and the mountains of articles about higher education which now fill the press, one can get a pretty good idea about the place of various colleges in the scholarly pecking order. But it is harder to find out about students, and the quality of student life. One of the few clues available to the inquisitive is the annual report of the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, which tells where its beneficiaries are enrolled.

Freed from money problems, 80 percent of these scholars enroll in private colleges, while only 40 percent of the nation's other freshmen sought and obtained this privilege. Given the self-confidence of national recognition, the scholars also applied to distinguished but distant schools which their less self-confident (but often equally talented) classmates never considered. Although one American college in four (*i.e.* 491) can claim at least one NMS winner in the last five years, three-quarters of the scholars have enrolled in the 50 most popular colleges. Indeed, a third have been concentrated in seven institutions: Harvard (11 percent), MIT (7 percent), Radcliffe (3 percent), Stanford (3 percent), Princeton (3 percent), Cal Tech (3 percent), and Yale (3 percent). Yet not even President Kennedy's

"Why, Joe, I Didn't Know You Was a Harvard Man, Too."

alma mater has said that Harvard and Radcliffe Colleges contain one-seventh of our most talented young people. Equally bright people could be found in small provincial colleges which have never had an NMS winner and never will, for many bright people never realize that they can compete for scholarships and academic distinction.

Nevertheless, the pattern of college choice among the NMS winners is probably representative of the choices of a large number of bright nationally-oriented secondary school graduates, and the student who wants to meet intellectually vivacious classmates could do worse than look at the list. Roughly speaking, it is dominated by six groups of colleges.

The Ivy League: About one student in five picks an Ivy League college, although as already indicated the Big Three account for most of this, and Cornell is the only other Ivy institution getting more than one percent of the scholars. Columbia, Dartmouth, Brown and Penn follow in that order.

The Technical Colleges: Since one NMS winner in six wants to be an engineer, it is not surprising that eight technical colleges get a sixth of the male scholars. Although MIT gets the lion's share, Cal Tech also gets three percent, and Rice Institute more than two.

The Big Ten: Only in the Midwest do public institutions compete successfully for talented students.

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About one NMS winner in 10 is at a Big Ten university, with Michigan by far the most popular, and Northwestern second. The only other public university which gets as many as one percent of the NMS scholars is the Berkeley branch of the University of California.

Little Ivy League, Little Ten, etc.: Eight small private residential liberal arts colleges get as many scholars as the Big Ten. Swarthmore is the most popular in the East, followed at a considerable distance by Wesleyan, Amherst and Williams, in that order. Oberlin is equally outstanding among small Midwestern colleges, but Macalaster and Carleton also have considerable appeal. On the West Coast, Reed and Pomona are the only standouts. (Parenthetically it is worth remarking that if you want to meet a National Merit Scholar, these small colleges are the place to go. In absolute numbers they do no better than the giants, but the density per square yard of campus is probably greater than anywhere else with the exception of Cal Tech and Harvard Yard.)

The Seven Sister Colleges: This women's Ivy League is dominated by Radcliffe even more than its male counterpart by Harvard. Nevertheless, Wellesley, Smith, Mount Holyoke, Bryn Mawr, Barnard and Vassar, in that order, enroll about 10 percent of the women scholars, while Radcliffe gets another 10 percent. Interestingly enough, Sarah Lawrence and Bennington, the two experimental and *avant garde* schools on the periphery of this charmed circle, have had only one scholar in five years. Read in the light of other comparative data on these schools, this is more a commentary on NMS selection methods than on the two colleges.

Private non-Ivy Universities: Only four universities make their mark in this group: Stanford, which apparently has tremendous West Coast appeal; Chicago, whose combination of distinguished faculty and once experimental college make it the only private university with Midwestern appeal; Notre Dame, the only Catholic institution which attracts Catholic scholars in substantial numbers; and Duke, the only Southern institution to get a big slice of the scholarly pie.

Such figures are no more than Hooper ratings of nationally-famous academic brand-names. But they do reflect the myths which prevail among the young, instead of the old.

When the Story Broke

Lo, the mighty fell alright, and hard, but the sound of their falling was muted in the columns of newspapers. By the time the case of the 29 electrical companies that were fined nearly $2 million last week had reached the sentencing stage, there could no longer be any doubt of the general interest to the reading public. For here was the spectacle of some of the nation's biggest manufacturers and 45 of their top executives either admitting in federal court that they had illegally fixed prices in order to divide up business worth $1.75 billion or pleading no contest. But how did the newspapers of last December 8-9 handle what was probably the most sensational aspect of the case, the original admission of guilt by 19 of the firms while 10 others were pleading *nolo contendere*?

According to the Justice Department, this was the largest criminal antitrust prosecution in our history. Attorney General Rogers, whose office instituted the proceedings, said it revealed "as serious instances of bid-rigging and price-fixing as have been charged in the more than half a century of life of the Sherman Antitrust Act." Could any major newspaper fail to give its story front-page display on a day when the only other big national or international news was Kennedy's offering the UN post to Adlai Stevenson and Soviet charges against Dag Hammarskjold on the Congo?

The answer is, they could. Of 22 large newspapers studied (the December 8 edition of the morning newspapers and the December 8 and 9 editions of the afternoon newspapers were checked), only four put the story on page one, each with only a single column headline but each with over a column of news – *The New York Times, Washington Post, Philadelphia Enquirer* and *St. Louis Globe-Democrat.* Four other papers used nearly a column of type but kept the story inside – *The Minneapolis Tribune, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, San Francisco Chronicle* and *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.*

Wire service coverage was excellent and extensive, but 10 papers boiled the story down to less than half a column which appeared on an inside page – *The Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, Boston Herald* (four inches), *New York Herald Tribune, Atlanta Constitution, Des Moines Register, Indianapolis Star, Chicago Sun-Times, Cleveland Plain Dealer* and *Detroit Free Press.* In nearly every report, the only firms named were General Electric and Westinghouse, although 29 companies in all were involved, with plants throughout the nation.

The story was omitted entirely from the December 8 editions of record filed at the Library of Congress by the *Boston Globe, New York Daily News, Christian Science Monitor,* and the *Kansas City Times* (the morning edition of the *Kansas City Star*).

As for the news magazines, *Newsweek* gave the biggest business scandal in decades six inches of space on page 72; *Time,* although it had run an earlier story in advance of the confession of guilt, gave it four inches on page 77. And *US News & World Report* ran nothing.

Were the 22 newspapers studied representative? 14 of them are rated by newspaper publishers themselves as among, the best 20 in the United States, and they account for approximately 15 percent of all papers sold.

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FIRST CONTACT BETWEEN THE NATIONALISTS AND DE GAULLE

Algerian Terms for a Settlement

Paris

The first contact between the French and the Algerian insurgents has just taken place in Switzerland. One of General de Gaulle's collaborators went to Geneva where, through the intermediation of certain Algerian neutrals, he transmitted to the FLN – National Liberation Front – a questionnaire to which the latter replied. The French Government is studying these replies. It does not consider them to be negative. Here they are:

1. The FLN is willing to accept the idea of Algeria and France being associated during a transitional period. The organs for such an association would be mixed commissions that would include French and Algerian ministers. Their respective competence would extend to diplomacy, military, economic and cultural affairs. At the end of the transitional period, a referendum would be held to accept, modify or reject association with France.

2. The French Army must be progressively evacuated until the number of effective troops does not exceed that which existed in 1954, when the insurrection broke out. At the same time, the FLN would demobilize the *maquis* and its units stationed in Tunisia and Morocco.

After the referendum, some French forces might remain in Algeria within the framework of a Franco-Algerian agreement, provided the bases become purely Franco-Algerian, and are no longer NATO bases. The FLN wishes to remove Algerian territory from the cover of the Atlantic Pact.

3. During the transitional period, the Algerian executive authority will be presided over by Ferhat Abbas, and will contain European ministers. The judiciary may be handled by mixed tribunals pending the installation of an Algerian system.

4. The FLN demands that the Sahara not be separated from Algeria. It is only subject to the condition that Algerian sovereignty over the Sahara be recognized as total that the FLN would be willing to accept the proposal of a project for joint exploitation of the wealth of the Sahara sub-soil with the participation of France on the one hand, and of the bordering states on the other.

Aside from the principal difficulty posed by the FLN reply (the Sahara – for General de Gaulle wants some form of co-sovereignty), it may be said that the experiment of a provisional association perpetuated by a referendum is entirely in conformity with de Gaulle's views. The same is true of the concept of a provisional executive authority. But, until now at least, there has never been any question of offering the presidency of this executive authority to Ferhat Abbas, who is president of the provisional government of the Algerian Republic in Exile.

Also, instead of an evacuation and demobilization of the French Army of Algeria, the chief of staff in Paris had envisaged a state of cooperation between the two French and Algerian armies, with mixed units to assure maintenance of order and to see to it that the referendum is conducted in a regular manner. Likewise, the removal of the operational bases of Algeria from the guarantees of the Atlantic Pact poses a question of principle which it is difficult to reconcile with the commitments of the French Government.

Nonetheless, progress on each side is considerable when compared with the scant progress over the six years of the Algerian War. There is, on both sides, a will to peace which may triumph over even the most serious obstacles. Why? Because de Gaulle would like to have a settlement before there is any Kennedy-Khrushchev encounter. The spring of 1961 is, for the French President, a decisive period in East-West relations. In his eyes, it is important for France to play a significant role, and hence, she should be as invulnerable as possible. All the French ambassadors are in agreement on one point: "No French diplomacy is possible as long as the Algerian War endures."

For its part, the FLN believes that it is not likely soon to get a better interlocutor than de Gaulle in any negotiations. No doubt, the FLN still believes that time is on its side, but time also makes the administration of the future independent State more difficult each month. Fear of a "Congolese" situation – in other words, of ungovernable chaos – is a weighty factor in the attitude of responsible Algerians, whose political maturity had advanced considerably. JEAN DANIEL

Gerald W. Johnson

THE AUTHOR OF *The Superficial Aspect* was recently operated on for a broken hip after having slipped on the ice. He is convalescing and looking forward to resuming his column soon.

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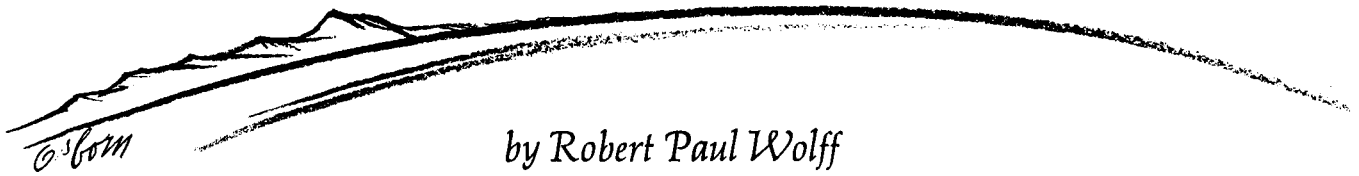
The Game of War



by Robert Paul Wolff

There's a new game on the market, a competitive game for two or more teams. The set costs a minimum of 10 percent of your gross national product per year, and I can confidently predict that if the first match is ever played, it will once for all eliminate the distinction between participant and spectator. The name of the game is Thermonuclear War.

Every game has its ground rules and playing rules, and a rule to decide who wins and who loses. The inventors of this game are having some difficulty writing a rule book, but the general consensus seems to run something like this: the playing field is the earth, and whatever other parts of space the contestants can reach. The basic equipment is thermonuclear warheads and weapons delivery systems, plus some body protectors like early warning systems, bomb shelters, radiation counters and evacuation procedures. There is a minor disagreement about the objectives of the game. One faction claims that you win if you manage to stay alive until a certain date (1975 is a popular choice). Others say you don't win unless you wipe out your opponent.

A joke in poor taste? Not at all. Simply a paraphrase of the latest slant on the problem of military strategy in the Age of Deterrence. Groups of mathematicians and physicists are attempting to apply the techniques of Game Theory to a study of nuclear war. By all odds the most flamboyant and influential of these pioneers is Herman Kahn, a member of the physics division at RAND (Research and Development) Corporation. In his new book *On Thermonuclear War*, Kahn gives the public a full-scale presentation of the Game Theory approach to modern war.

Very briefly, Game Theory is a branch of abstract mathematics which aims at determining the most advantageous strategies in a competitive situation. The inventors of the theory, Von Neumann and Morgenstern, restricted their studies to simple games, more like two-man poker. They distinguished between several types of games, such as zero-sum (one player's gains exactly balance the losses of the other) and non-zero-sum (a net loss, as when the house takes a steady cut of the ante). Then quite sophisticated mathematics was employed to discover the *minimax* strategy – *i.e.*, the system of play which minimizes the danger of loss while maximizing the possibility of gain. In other words, Game Theory is designed to calculate the precise mean between an excess and a defect of caution.

The theory would seem to lend itself easily to extensions beyond the limits of simplified poker. One of the most natural fields in which to try it out is war. War is, in a sense, a contest between two players. The analogy is an old one, dating to the time when medieval knights studied chess, and Chinese warriors practiced their tactics in the game of GO. The subtlety and precision of the new Game Theory holds out great hope to the military strategist in need of a plan. The concept of the *minimax* has obvious relevance to a battle situation. For example, suppose that a British Air Force General is plotting a pattern of anti-submarine reconnaissance flights over the Channel. He wants to get maximum probability of sighting subs for minimum cost (otherwise he can just station a dirigible over every square foot of water). The problem is that a highly efficient but regular pattern will be easy for the enemy to catch on to and evade, while even a complicated pattern may be stolen by a spy. Game Theory will give the answer (it happens to be a random scatter of planes).

Von Neumann and Morgenstern worked with simple games because otherwise there were just too many factors to consider at once: tanks and regiments and destroyers can misbehave in countless numbers of

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ways. But missiles are a different story altogether. Kahn defends the use of the game-theoretic approach in the following manner: "Analytic treatments of war during the last five or ten years have a real possibility of being more reliable than the same kind of attempt made in preceding decades. The reason for this is partly because we have new tools and techniques available, but mainly because in a nuclear war many of the problems that arise really are problems in physics and engineering. . . . As we change the bulk of our strategic force from planes to missiles, the war gets even more calculable than it was before. The use of planes involves many imponderables . . . the missile, however, is particularly a product of the engineering sciences. . . . To a heretofore unprecedented extent, campaigns really are problems in applied mathematics."

Any attempt to evaluate the "systems analysis" treatment of nuclear war must eventually come to grips with Kahn's 600-page treatise. The book is divided into three "lectures," each one laying the groundwork for the next. The purpose of the first lecture is to get people actually talking about thermonuclear war. Kahn's principal worry can be expressed by a switch on the old Mark Twain crack about the weather: Everyone does something about nuclear war, but nobody talks about it. We spend billions a year for weapons, train two million men to use them, build a foreign policy on the power they represent, and then resolutely close our minds to the thought that they might be used. The line of reasoning against which Kahn inveighs might be stated like this: "A nuclear war would mean the annihilation of civilization; that is an unthinkable catastrophe; therefore it won't happen." This attitude, Kahn insists, is found among hard-headed military men as well as in the writings of the utopian idealists (supporters of disarmament) with whom he has little patience. As a result, despite our enormous expenditures on arms, no one much thinks about how a nuclear war might progress, what tactics would prove most successful, and even how we might best terminate it.

Survival Is Possible

Now Kahn is no fool. He recognizes that you can't get a man to play a game if he thinks he can't possibly win. So the first Lecture is devoted to proving that with the proper precautions, we perfectly well can live through a full-scale atomic attack – even if it destroys the 50 largest cities in the United States. Kahn flatly asserts: "It is the thesis of this lecture that if proper preparations have been made, it would be possible for us or the Soviets to cope with all the effects of a thermonuclear war, in the sense of saving most people and restoring something close to the prewar standard of living in a relatively short time."

Strictly speaking, this is not a proposition of strategy or Game Theory. It is really logically independent of the rest of Kahn's book, for even if one thought that war meant annihilation, it might still be possible to calculate the relative effectiveness of alternative deterrent strategies. Or you might try to dope out the best tactical bet for achieving what A. J. Wohlstetter calls a "technical" win: two Americans left alive and only one Russian. Nevertheless, the psychological relevance of the statement makes it worthwhile to take a look at how Kahn came to such a remarkable conclusion.

His first step is to distinguish two types of attack on the United States: an early, or light, attack on 150 targets by 500 bombs having a total fission yield of 1,500 megatons; and a late, or heavy, attack on 400 targets by 2,000 bombs having a yield of 20,000 megatons (the relation of early to light and late to heavy is that Russia will not have the capability for a heavy

attack until the late 1960's). Then Kahn undertakes to show that with proper civil defense procedures, each of the dangers of a nuclear attack could be met and overcome. For example, according to Kahn, with regard to short-term radiation, an early attack would cover 40 percent of the surface of the US with lethal doses of radiation. A late attack would leave some hope of life out in the open in a mere 5 percent of America. With shelters, food and plenty of warning, we can thus sit it out in safety. Kahn doesn't explain how we are to carry on the war that he described in Lecture II, as we huddle deep beneath the ground, but as it turns out, that is the least of his lapses.

The next problem is the destruction of the economy. Facing up to this task, Kahn assumes that the 53 largest Standard Metropolitan Areas in the United States are totally destroyed. In other words, 60 million people are dead and one-half of the wealth and manufacturing capacity of America is wiped out. Even so, he asserts, the economy could be brought back to its present level of consumption in 10 years. To prove this, he draws some lines on the page and calls them Figure 1. The reader may search the book for the slightest hint as to the origins of Figure 1. He will find no citations of studies by economists, nor even a cryptic reference to classified documents. The whole is an essay in imagination. We are paid off, however, near the end of the first Lecture. Kahn there makes an admission which alone would serve to invalidate his entire study. Speaking of himself and his associates at RAND, Kahn asserts: "But perhaps what is most important of all,

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we did not look at the interaction among the effects we did study" (p. 91). In other words, when calculating deaths from radiation, he ignores the disruption of medical services and the deaths of doctors. When calculating economic damage, he ignores the later stages of the war. When calculating the pace of economic reconstruction, he ignores lingering lethal effects of radiation. (Yet this doesn't stop him. In the Third Lecture, he once more states: "It is not really unreasonable on the basis of our study to conjecture that if either of these nations [US or USSR] made elaborate preparations they could survive and rebuild after an extremely 'large' war." I would not trust myself to choose a toothpaste on the basis of a study as incompetent as that.)

In Lecture II, we get an analysis of alternative tactics. The intricacies of the discussion are beyond the scope of this article, but the flavor can be caught by sampling a few of Kahn's new terms.

Vocabulary of the Game

The four basic terms are the names of the military postures that Kahn considers to be at all rational. Excluded from the list are hopelessly "impractical" alternatives like disarmament and control by a world government, and such excessively dangerous possibilities as the famous "doomsday" machine. This latter is a hypothetical machine of some sort (a cobalt bomb, say) which is buried deep in the earth and set to go off automatically, destroying all life in the world, if more than a certain number of hydrogen bombs are exploded over the surface of the United States. Such a contraption would be the perfect deterrent so far as credibility and power are concerned, but Kahn rejects it as lacking the essential element of control.

The feasible alternatives are: (1) *Finite Deterrence* – a Strategic Air Command or missile force capable of inflicting totally unacceptable destruction on the enemy *after a first strike by the enemy*. Kahn points out that it is the *post-attack* capability which here constitutes the deterrent; (2) *Counterforce as Insurance* – this is Finite Deterrence plus some capability to destroy or counteract an enemy first strike – anti-aircraft batteries, anti-missile-missiles, civil defense shelters, radar warning nets, and so forth; (3) *Pre-attack Mobilization Base* – a standby ability to expand military and civil defense preparations at short notice, should the international situation become more tense. Its purpose is to put us in a better bargaining position by quickly beefing up our strength; (4) finally, *Credible First Strike Capability* – a state of preparedness which convinces the Russians that under certain circumstances (*e.g.*, an attack on Western Europe) we might strike Russia before she struck us. The crucial point here is we must be willing to accept the Russian return strike in order to make our own first strike capability appear credible. If a retaliatory blow by the US threatens to end up costing 160 million American lives, no one is going to believe that we would avenge an attack on Europe, no matter what the provocation. On the other hand – and here we see the relevance of Lecture I – if a prepared America can survive a Russian strike with 20 or 30 million dead, it may seem credible that we *would* strike first.

The key to strategy after a nuclear war has started is the concept of *post-attack blackmail*. Most of us, when we contemplate a nuclear war, find ourselves blinded by the flash of the first fire-ball. But Kahn looks beyond to the later stages of the war (*i.e.*, the succeeding hours and even days). He reasons that it will benefit the Russians *not* to destroy our cities on the first strike, for if their strategists have learned the Game Theoretic lesson, they may choose rather to knock out our retaliatory forces. *Then* they can blackmail us with threats against our population. It goes something like this: 10 a.m. – Khrushchev presses the button; 10:30 a.m. – four-fifths of America's missiles and SAC bases go up in mushroom clouds; 10:45 a.m. – Khrushchev calls up Kennedy and says, "Don't press that button or I'll destroy New York, Washington, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, and San Francisco"; 10:50 a.m. – Kennedy surrenders.

Why Kennedy doesn't press his remaining buttons before Khrushchev can get through is left unexplained, as is the little matter of making the telephone connection. But Kahn places great store by his notion of post-attack blackmail. He imagines tit-for-tat missile base exchanges, city exchanges, submarine exchanges and other forms of limiting strategies. The whole idea is that nuclear war can be controlled, stopped down, turned into an instrument of policy.

Kahn's concrete proposals for American military policy can be stated quite succinctly in terms of his vocabulary. Instead of relying on a second-strike force with a half-hearted warning system, he says, we should take vigorous civil defense precautions, strengthen our

NEXT WEEK: *The discussion of Herman Kahn's book will be continued in an essay by Fred Greene of Williams College*

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standby capacity for rapid military expansion, and perhaps even create an effective evacuation program. In other words, "at least for the immediate future we should be somewhere between the Pre-attack Mobilization Base and the Credible First Strike Capability."

It would be easy to criticize the tactical gambits which are put forward for consideration in Lectures II and III, but it is more important to examine the whole business of applying game theoretic analysis to our deterrent policy. I think it takes very little reflection to see that the idea is fundamentally misconceived, and in certain ways extremely harmful.

In the first place, Game Theory assumes a simplified, closed-off, calculable situation in which the contestants act on "rational" motives. It thus resembles the classical economic systems of Smith and Ricardo, who may be called the ancestors of Game Theory. Smith postulated a society of "economic men" whose actions were guided solely by the desire to maximize profits

and minimize losses. Such men could be counted on, for example, to buy as cheaply as possible and sell for the highest price the market would bear. If habit or prejudice or sheer laziness caused them to pay more than they had to, Smith's system fell to the ground. It was only applicable to men who possessed what could be called an economic conception of reality – that is to say, a scale of values based entirely on profit and loss.

By analogy we may say that Kahn postulates a world of "thermonuclear men" whose standard of values constitutes a military conception of reality. He reveals this presupposition again and again in his use of language. New developments in methods of killing large numbers of human beings are called "interesting" and "exciting." In Lecture II, referring to a Russian strike which causes two million American deaths, Kahn says: ". . . in such a carefully designed and executed attack most responsible [*sic*] Americans would think of the United States as being essentially [*sic*] untouched."

The discussion of nuclear strategy in the post-attack hours depends on the assumption that all of the persons involved – Russians as well as Americans – are to engage coolly in limited city exchanges, laconic transatlantic phone conversations, and careful calculations in the aftermath of a crippling attack. Should either we or the Russians behave in the manner of past generations, growing irrational with rage at the sight of our gutted cities; should we fail to avail ourselves of the delicate logic of the post-attack blackmail in those giddy hours after the first several millions have died; if, confused by fear with our phones dead and our radios overcome by static, we frantically press the buttons and speed the remains of our deterrent on its way – then, Kahn tells us, America may cease to exist.

Kahn has a word for his kind of thinking, a word which he uses some seven times by my count. It is "sober." People who decide that there is less danger in disarmament than in reliance upon Khrushchev's game theoretic rationality are not "sober." People who doubt that two million dead would leave America "essentially untouched" are not "sober." People who add up Kahn's own figures and conclude that a nuclear war would mean annihilation are not "sober."

At this point, Kahn might protest that I have misrepresented him, for he actually speaks against the very military mind which I have been imputing to him. Thus he says: "While the main theme of these lectures is that we cannot afford to ignore the military problem generated by the Cold War, there is a co-equal theme . . . this theme is that the purely military solutions to our security problems are likely to be grossly inadequate in the long run, and may prove to be so in the short run." Unfortunately this caveat does not clear Kahn of the charge that his theory presupposes a military conception of reality. As a matter of fact, the proposals set forth in Lectures II and III have the paradoxical character of self-confirming prophecies. A self-confirming prophecy is a statement which, if believed and acted upon, makes itself come true. For example, a young man bungles a proposal of marriage because he already believes that the girl will say no; the challenger is so unmanned by the champ's reputation that in the ring he becomes the pushover the champ boasted he would be. More to the point, when a flock of geese on the radar sends SAC toward its targets, the Russians may respond in fear of a US attack by putting in the air the very planes which we mistakenly supposed to be approaching.

Not in the Rule Book

Now I suggest that if we adopt such measures as evacuation of cities in times of international tension, on the assumption that the Russians may otherwise provoke us with an attack on Europe, we will force them to match our evacuations with their own, and thereby increase the probability of a nuclear war. By believing that the Russians have adopted the Kahn mentality we may actually cause them to do so. Then, of course, Kahn would be able to point to his predictions and say, "You see! I told you so! If we hadn't

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evacuated our cities we would really be in a hole."

By criticizing the military conception of reality, I have implied that there is an alternative. Indeed there is, and a consideration of it reveals the most fundamental inadequacy of the game theory frame of mind.

Kahn deals with the problem posed by a belligerent Russia armed with increasingly powerful nuclear weapons, and yet the one subject which he consistently ignores is the nature and probable behavior of the Russian state. To be sure, a few Khrushchev speeches are quoted, but these merely serve to demonstrate the implacability of the foe. With a few textual alterations, the book might as easily be about Germans, Chinese, Mongols, Englishmen, or Americans. For unswerving belligerence is not a characteristic which Kahn, after long study, has decided must be attributed to Russia. It is simply one of the hypotheses of Game Theory – like assuming that one's chess opponent is trying to win. Just as Adam Smith assumed that every capitalist and worker in the economy cares only for maximizing his wealth, so Kahn postulates an enemy bent simply on *military* domination.

This faceless character of the "enemy" is emphasized by Kahn's habit of referring always to "he," "him," "his desires," "his fears." An image is continually projected of two individual men confronting one another in battle. The effect is to suppress any mention of the actual decision-making procedures in the Russian state. There is no concrete evaluation of the means by which the Russian ruling elite might become more belligerent, or less. No account is taken of recent developments in the Russian position on disarmament, arms control, or the inevitability of world war.

In brief, Kahn has ignored the political context of our military situation. To him, politics is simply one category of obstacles to a desirable defense program. He cannot envisage accommodation at the conference table because his theory must abstract from the accidental peculiarities of the opponent. This abstraction gives to Kahn's book its air of unreality. There is much hardheaded talk of weapons systems and millions of dead, but no mention of the world which produces the weapons and the dead.

The same narrowness of vision explains Kahn's absolute rejection of disarmament in favor of some form of arms control. Within the conditions of the thermonuclear game, arms control is a strategy to be evaluated like any other. But disarmament is a decision not to play the game, and that is the one move which Game Theory cannot handle.

Down and Out on the Farm

by Asher Brynes

A top priority item on the Administration's legislative "must" list, numbered S 1, is the Area Redevelopment Bill sponsored by Paul H. Douglas and 43 other members of the Senate of both parties. The urgency with which the President views this legislation was underscored by his first administrative action directing the Secretary of Agriculture to increase the quantity and variety of surplus and other foods now being distributed to persons on relief in such areas and his State of the Union reference to redeveloping "our areas of chronic labor surplus."

S 1 is the fourth in a series of area development bills that have been debated and passed by the Senate in recent years. Everybody who has had anything to do with these measures knows where he stands on the fine as well as the broad points. Indeed, the rival Republican proposal offered by Sen. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania (S 6) is almost identical with Senator Douglas' bill except that it calls for the control of the proposed Area Redevelopment Administration by the Secretary of Commerce rather than by the President, cuts back on a few loan authorizations and provides for Congressional control of loans for private industry projects through separate appropriation of funds for that particular purpose. Both bills carefully spell out the fact that their objective is to establish "an effective program to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and *underemployment*" in distressed areas.

The italicized word swings open the door to relief for the most poverty-stricken people in this country – those who live on farms without sufficient acreage, implements and capital to employ themselves effectively. Together with the unemployed wage-earners in rural areas they comprise well over 25 percent of the population covered by Senator Douglas' bill. Why

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has it taken us so long to recognize this backyard squalor in our nation? Perhaps because the American conscience is dominated by urban images. Out in the open country there are no tenements festooned with lines of wash, no tough kids scattering through traffic to get away from the "Law," no gang wars that erupt with sudden violence, no massive fires that drive dozens of families into the streets, no sourly idle people waiting for unemployment insurance or home relief checks. Sometimes the inhabitants of Tobacco Road or Dogpatch Holler show up walking and talking on TV or in the movies, but in real life they live way back on the blacktop and dirt roads.

Small town people, commercial farmers and merchants, know them as individuals who can do certain jobs, have various disabilities, and are more or less in debt. They don't normally think of them as a part of the population that should be provided with better housing, improved employment services for the grown-ups and supervised playgrounds for the children, things that can be bought with more welfare funds.

Nobody who is familiar with the problem, as a matter of fact, has a ready-made formula for the abolition of rural poverty, for the reason that such low-income farm families are literally outcasts of the shrinking small business economy of agriculture. Some were tossed out of commercial farming a generation or more ago, others the day before yesterday, or when the war and postwar inflation of farm prices subsided in the late Forties, or when the same thing happened again after the Korean War. In our own history of less than two centuries, manpower requirements for the production of food and fiber in the United States have fallen from 90 to less than nine percent of the population, counting all members of farm families. Fifty years ago more than a third of the nation – the largest single occupational group – still depended on farming for a livelihood. Today only half of the relatively few farm families remaining in the business possess the greater quantities of land, capital, machinery and management skills needed to operate on a commercial scale.

Their Problem Is Not Prices

Like other small business people, commercial farmers have price and cost troubles. These are usually identified as the farm problem. Unfortunately, there is not even a recognizable label for the difficulties of the low-income farmers. They have troubles of a more basic kind, subsistence rather than price problems. The situation is further confused by the fact that they sell just enough produce to be counted as farmers under the loose definition used by the Bureau of the Census. They are also, naturally, as much concerned about farm prices as their prosperous neighbors. The difference is that no practical manipulation of prices could really give them enough income. They don't produce enough.

Many have a sufficient equity in real property, land and homes, to disqualify them for relief. This is true of the younger people who live on residential farms of small acreage, and depend chiefly on town and village jobs to which they commute in home-repaired automobiles. It is true of the older couples who operate retirement farms on which everything else, their land and their implements, is equally worn out. Even the borderline commercial farmers in areas of exhausted fertility, or which never were fertile and should not have been fenced, plowed and planted in the first place may own substantial quantities of real property – but better fitted for forestry than farming.

Such an area, for instance, is the cutover region of the Lake States where mighty stands of hardwood timber grew in the last century. Now the trees have been gobbled up so completely that most of the furniture factories of Grand Rapids have had to move too, and the surviving descendants of the loggers who cut all those trees down are having a thin time. Nobody told them, apparently, that forest soils can be of low fertility for agriculture. Besides, this is a region of almost sub-artic cold. The growing season is too short.

In addition there are seven other critical low-income farming areas, all worse. Four are on the eastern side of the Mississippi, extending in a diagonal line from the Appalachian Mountains just below Pennsylvania to the delta country above the south of the big river and then trending back through the southeastern hill country (Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee) to the coastal plains of South Carolina, Georgia and northern Florida. The three critical southwestern areas are concentrated in the sandy coastal plains of Arkansas, Louisiana and eastern Texas, the Ozark country and its borders, extending in a northerly direction to a corner of Missouri. There is, finally, a lone enclave of massive poverty that covers all of northwestern New Mexico.

At the present time one-half to three-fourths of all the rural families in these areas are out of farming completely, although more heads of households are still classified as farmers than any other single occupation. The others are employed in a great variety of odd or unskilled jobs for the most part. One-fifth to one-third of such rural families received less than a thousand dollars of net money income from all sources in 1959. Social Security or other welfare-type programs provided a considerable proportion of such family incomes. These people are too insufficiently schooled (if young) or set in their ways or physically handicapped (if old) to change their ways or their residences.

The children of low-income rural families present a different problem. There are too many of them to be absorbed into agriculture. Only one rural boy in 10 throughout the nation, it is estimated, can hope to find "good farming opportunities on farms which can net

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[him] more than $2,500 per year." In the rural low-income regions the proportion is so small that it is practically invisible. Nevertheless, more than a third of American high schools offer courses in vocational agriculture – exactly the same number, indeed, that give courses in home economics. This over-emphasis on farm training in rural high schools handicaps farm-reared children who come to live in towns and cities. In 1952 about three times as many farm-reared workers, proportionately, as the city-reared people among whom they worked earned incomes of less than $2,000 annually; a fifth as many had incomes over $10,000.

The Need for Retraining

Four years ago, the Eisenhower Administration moved in on this problem with a frankly experimental effort, the Rural Development Program. Despite the fact that farm improvement is certainly the least promising approach to the alleviation of rural poverty, the Federal-State Agricultural Extension Services were given all of the Rural Development funds (about one-fortieth of one percent of the US Department of Agriculture budget last year) because its agents are already stationed in every county seat in the country. Most Extension agents are, however, college-trained specialists whose mission is to counsel commercial farmers on production and management problems. Ever since the first decade of this century they have operated as advisers to the small businessmen of agriculture. They do an outstanding job of that kind but they are out of their element when it comes to providing leadership for a more widely-based attack on rural poverty.

What the people in such low-income areas require even more than agricultural advice and assistance is industrial development, tourist promotion, and most importantly over the long term a realistic revision of the vocational training programs available to them in rural high schools. The latter might also be expanded to include adult courses for rural people who wish to prepare themselves for industrial or city employment; as a matter of fact, there is a good deal of reason to consider the development of brief courses in adjustment to urban life. Welfare agencies in cities like Washington, D. C. (called by some of its officials "the biggest Rural Development area in the United States" because it has to absorb so many rural folks, chiefly from the middle South) would welcome and endorse such training at the source of the flow.

The Douglas Bill does provide for Vocational Training (Section 16) and Retraining Subsistence Payments (Sec. 17) for qualified adults in redevelopment areas. But no funds are mentioned to defray the cost of this additional training except such as the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare may see fit to provide out of his own budget *when advised of the need by the Secretary of Labor*. The Administrator of the Area Redevelopment Administration who is to be "appointed by the President . . . with the advice and consent of the Senate" has nothing to say about the matter. Presumably, he may only discuss vocational training with these officials on an informal basis!

There is, furthermore, a technical flaw in the drafting of both of these sections which has the effect of barring low-income farm people from such training and the retraining subsistence payments altogether. As we have noted, the Bill repeatedly refers in the preamble and in a page-long "Declaration of Purpose" and in the section defining the criteria for designating redevelopment areas, to conditions of *under-* as well as *un*employment. Section 5b is very explicit on that point: Indian reservations are included along with other areas that have large numbers of low-income families, whether the heads of such families have records of *previous* employment or are defeated farmers who never worked for anybody but themselves. When we come to the vocational training and retraining sections, however, all mention of low-income farm families and underemployment is omitted. A person must be "unemployed" to qualify for vocational training or retraining subsistence payments.

There is no provision, understandably, for more realistic vocational training programs in rural high schools: Senator Douglas' Bill is concerned with the troubles of adult workers only. It is curious, however, to see that the Area Development Administrator must consider, again in Section 5b, "the extent of migration out of the area" along with "the proportion of the population receiving public assistance" and "the availability of manpower in each such area for supplemental employment" before deciding whether his agency can proceed to redevelop it effectively. After all, the purpose of the proposed Area Redevelopment Administration is to provide *supplemental* employment opportunities. Suppose the area is distant from any industrial centers, is thinly peopled by young workers or those capable of work, has a disproportionately large population of older persons living on what economists delicately call income-transfer payments, and in addition has poor soil, bad roads, uninteresting scenery and an unattractive climate. There are places like that which the people are slowly leaving of their own accord.

The Bill implicitly gives the Area Development Administrator the authority to declare, in effect, that such a low-income area is hopeless. But if he so designates it, he can do nothing for its people. He cannot assist in this process of outmigration by which some of the inhabitants, mainly the young and capable, make their own adjustments and move to cities and towns. He cannot help more of them to leave sooner, nor can he halt the steady decline of those remaining into deeper poverty and dependence.

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SOME STRAIGHT TALK FROM NIGERIAN STUDENTS

"We Don't Want To Be Won"

Ibadan, Nigeria

The five students came in bringing chairs and made themselves comfortable in the book-strewn dormitory room. They were polite but a bit wary. My wife and I had driven 90 miles from Lagos to University College on the outskirts of Ibadan in order to talk with them.

Outside the sun beat down with dazzling intensity on the school's handsome white buildings which were made to appear even whiter by the surrounding forest. Not far away this wall of green was pierced by the rooftops of a new housing development.

On the horizon was the skeletal transmitting tower of the Western Region's – and Africa's first – television network. Out of sight behind a ridge lay Ibadan, an immense, sprawling city of 600,000 people.

Four of the students were studying undergraduate physics. The fifth was doing graduate work in library science. One was president of the student council. Another edited the college weekly.

Two months earlier all five had abandoned their books for a day, and along with several hundred of their classmates had descended noisely on the federal house of parliament in Lagos to protest the signing of the Anglo-Nigerian Defense Pact. Before the ensuing fracas with the police had run its course, one of the physicists and the librarian had deliberately allowed themselves to be arrested and carried away in a paddy wagon for a date next morning with a Lagos magistrate.

The pact, then, was a natural starting place for a discussion. As their initial reserve melted the students spoke freely and with a vehemence tempered by frequent assurance that their American visitors should take nothing they said personally. Here is some of what they said, reported as accurately as memory allows.

"The mere idea of a pact is inconsistent with the neutral role every African nation should play. It makes us look hypocritical and ridiculous because our leaders have told the world we will follow a policy of non-alignment as far as the power blocs are concerned."

"Signing a pact with Britain means aligning ourselves with America and NATO, too. During the Suez crisis the British used our airbase at Kano. If de Gaulle and Abbas fail to reach an agreement, the West may use Kano to attack Algeria. The day will inevitably come when we find ourselves fighting at Britain's side against other Africans."

A gust of wind blew to the floor a leaflet announcing "regretfully," that the French acting troupe scheduled to appear on the campus the following week was cancelling its engagement because the Nigerian-French diplomatic break had made transportation impossible.

"The British are deceitful," one of the group continued. "They tell us they want to help us but in reality take advantage of our inexperience as a new nation to increase their military capacity. They want to keep an eye on us because they fear us."

"Once we have given them a base we'll never get them off our soil. Cuba gave America the naval base at Guantanamo, but when relations deteriorated America refused to leave. The same thing will happen here because if there is any country with which we will quarrel in the future it will be Britain."

And then as a brutal afterthought one student added, "Why should we tie ourselves to a declining power that is no longer able to defend even itself?"

"Africans are weary of being pushed around like pawns on your Cold War chessboard. You take it for granted that we lack intelligence to make our own decisions and shape our own future. Russia and America haven't yet realized that Africa does not need to decide between capitalism and Communism. There are alternatives and we can find them."

"You Americans are the most obstinate people. You above all others should realize that Africa is not to be wooed like a child with no mind of its own. There is so much talk in the United States about winning Africa for the free world. Has it ever occurred to you that perhaps we don't want to be won, perhaps we don't regard your freedom as being particularly desirable?"

"Kennedy says he will send a peace corps to us, but to us this kind of peace means anti-Communism."

The five were in quick agreement that none wanted to have anything to do with President Kennedy's young emissaries from America.

"We are ready to receive your help, but help that comes from love, not pity. We don't want a patronizing pat on the back. We don't want your American superiority flaunted in our faces, because in fact we don't recognize this superiority."

"You must realize that when we talk like this it is not because we are pro-Communist. We want nothing to do with Communism. The Hungaries repel us. We have never looked to Moscow for leadership. We have looked to the West but you have disappointed us."

"We may disagree with some of Nkrumah's internal

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policies, but as far as projecting Africa to the world goes, he is the leader we most admire. Nkrumah was right when he said that Ghana will not be free until all of Africa is free. We begrudge every inch of African soil that remains under the control of the white man. All Africans are brothers with a common history of oppression and a common destiny of freedom."

"Africa has reached a stage where it must stand on its own." His voice edged with scorn, the editor continued, "The English and Americans tell me that I am not a human being until I learn to speak English and wear a white shirt and tie. But I am an African. I cannot be a carbon copy of a white man. Likewise, Africa has to express itself as a continent with integrity."

"Put it another way. The West is a declining civilization. Where is the human race going to get the leaven it needs so badly if Africans – and Asians – are not allowed to express themselves as human beings?"

After this outburst the student took a long drink from a bottle of orange soda, looked at his watch and got up. It was time for lunch.

As they left, one turned in the doorway and said, "You know, Americans and Nigerians have one important trait in common. We both speak our minds."

Paul Conklin

Paul Conklin, *formerly a reporter on the* Minneapolis Star, *has been living in Lagos since last September.*

Sanity and Peace in South Africa

I-Why Apartheid Will Not Work

All responsible South Africans, whatever their political party, know that the time is rapidly passing in which the whites can maintain a monopoly of power. On the other hand, they are all of them determined, with the exception of a negligible fringe of sentimentalists and fellow-travelers, not to be dominated by the Africans, who in spite of great progress are still in the mass uneducated and undeveloped, and the majority of the Coloreds and Indians share this determination to the full. That does not mean, of course, that it would be justified to resist an African political majority for all time. On the contrary, I have no doubt that an African majority will come eventually, but mere existence, in itself, is not an adequate qualification for a vote in a multi-racial State.

The Nationalists have chosen the way of racial separation and it would be quite wrong to think of their *apartheid* philosophy, in theory anyhow, as either willfully stupid or immoral. It was conceived as a serious attempt to deal with a complicated problem and not intended merely as a cloak for oppression. Partition has, after all, been applied as a last resort in quite a few parts of the world where it has appeared that racial or communal problems were insoluble within a single State. The Nationalists say that the Reserves will be consolidated and energetically developed economically and politically to equip them to govern themselves. It has been made clear by the Prime Minister of South Africa that while these territories would have to remain for a long and undefined period under the control of the white government of the Union, the ultimate objective is full independence with a right of secession.

Now this is all very well in theory but the practical difficulties in the way are formidable and, to my mind, insuperable. Exhaustive inquiry by a commission which was well-disposed to the government's basic ideas has shown clearly that no conceivable amount of development in the existing Reserves would enable them to carry a high enough population to allow a real separation of black and white to take place. It is significant of the political limitations within which the *apartheid* policy could be applied that no consideration whatever has apparently been given to increasing the size of the Reserves so as to divide the area of the Union between black and white on a basis fair to both races.

In the next place, the whole economic development of South Africa has been based on the use of African labor. This labor is partly tribal and migrant, but increasingly it is becoming detribalized and permanently resident outside the Reserves. A continuation of this state of affairs is quite incompatible with a genuine policy of separation, but large-scale replacement of Africans by whites in industry is clearly impossible. It would require, to begin with, European immigration on an impracticably large scale and this, anyhow, for other reasons would almost certainly be unacceptable to the Nationalist Government. In practice, while very little has so far been done to develop the native areas, a great deal has unfortunately been done to regulate

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the lives of Africans living outside the Reserves on the assumption that effective territorial separation of the races is on the point of being brought about.

The Urban Africans

African residents in the cities are treated as though they were temporary visitors from another country. They are not allowed to own their own houses, have to produce passes on demand and may be forced to leave the urban areas at short notice if they fall out of employment. In this way family life is often broken up and a grave sense of grievance and frustration caused amongst the most developed Africans who should be the leaders of their people.

It is these negative aspects of the *apartheid* policy which lie behind the disturbances such as took place at Sharpeville last year and the most urgent need in South Africa is for reform of the laws governing the urban Africans. Dr. Verwoerd has expressed his intention of pressing ahead energetically with positive steps to develop the Reserve areas. I would be the last to deny that there is much good in this policy. The economy of the Reserves has been neglected and I would agree that, if a larger African population can be enabled to live in these areas and if an effective local self-government can be built up among them, it would help race relations practically and psychologically in the country as a whole. But this, of course, is a very different thing from saying that the whole racial problem can be solved by separation, and eventual partition. It seems to me absolutely certain that it cannot. The experiment on which the government is engaged is, I think, bound to fail and South Africa will have to turn to a policy of unity on a basis of individual merit in the place of division on a basis of race. What would such a policy mean? In the first place it implies that anyone, irrespective of race, who has certain reasonable educational or property qualifications must be entitled to vote on a common roll. It means too that the fear of discriminatory treatment of one race by another must be removed so far as possible by positive guarantees in a rigid constitution which could not be altered without the approval of the racial groups.

What are the chances of such a policy succeeding? I think it is fair to answer that by asking what the chances are of anything else. A stable political system must correspond with the facts of power. That is surely the only way to stability and progress in any country. In South Africa it is more and more clear that the facts of power will not, in the long run, allow government on the basis of domination of one race by another and the facts of economics press more and more in the direction of cooperation and unity.

Throughout Africa we are going through a difficult and testing time and South Africa's policy has for long been the despair of her friends and the comfort of her enemies. Nevertheless it is said, very rightly, in the mining world, that it takes a very bad manager to spoil a good mine, and it is in the Union, more than anywhere else in Africa, that the long-term prospects not only for economic progress, but for racial peace, are best. That is certainly not because South Africans are wiser or better than others, but because the more equal racial distribution and the facts that the African population is accustomed to working with Europeans, is more industrialized, better educated and living on a higher economic level than elsewhere in Southern Africa, are all powerful factors making for harmony. It may be that the Union, for so long the problem child in the African family, may lead the way to sanity and peace.

HARRY OPPENHEIMER

HARRY OPPENHEIMER *is the chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation and of the DeBeers Consolidated Mines, Limited.*

II-What Chance Have the Moderates?

I agree with much that Mr. Oppenheimer says, but I wish to dissent from any rosy hope expressed in certain government, academic, and even business circles that somehow things will get better if the "moderates" in South Africa can be encouraged while the extremists are not irritated.

This idea develops from a confused analogy with our South. The defect of this analogy is simple. The South African antagonists are much further apart than those in Louisiana or even Mississippi, and the South African moderates, while they hold similar economic positions to the moderates in Georgia, have far less political power and influence on their community. If they are English-speaking South Africans, and most are, the ruling Afrikaners will disregard them almost completely, and denounce their ideas as a device to destroy the Afrikaner *volk;* if they are industrialists such as Mr. Oppenheimer – from either language group

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– they will be viewed with deep suspicion because industry, after all, is responsible for the integration of the cities; if the moderates are Afrikaners, they will be denounced and ostracized for opposing the unity of the Afrikaner people. And above all, moderation in South Africa cannot benefit from a shared heritage of political equality and due process, a tradition that affects Americans below the Mason-Dixon line. The spirit of the old South African Republic of Paul Kruger is the spirit of the republic of Verwoerd; its constitution provided for "no equality in either church or state."

Because the moderates are thus isolated from direct influence on the government, and because South African electoral realities make it needless for the Nationalists to conciliate them, any hope that the present regime can be influenced toward the "sanity and peace" to which Mr. Oppenheimer refers without some violent shock seems to me vain. The hope even becomes harmful, for it misleads the South Africans themselves, encouraging them to think they have friends in high places here. Thus recently a Nationalist member of the South African parliament returned from a trip to the US convinced that the World Bank had told him it would help finance Verwoerd's Bantustans. This sort of thing simply encourages South Africans to keep on believing that outside criticism is the work of the irresponsible and the politically impotent.

Would a Tougher Policy Help?

Polite encouragement having affected the Nationalists not at all, there is the possibility that concerted external pressure might. It is worth a try. To have any hope of success, though, it must have the unmistakable support of the US, not in the form of support to boycotts – which, because of South Africa's labor laws would starve the Africans whom we want most to help – but simply pressure through ordinary diplomatic channels. One may have "sympathy" for the Union's racial problems, yet tell them that their way of trying to solve these problems has only our contempt, that where *apartheid* is not dishonest it is impossible, and that it is everywhere unjust.

The opportunities for translating this attitude into specific policy appear limited, I grant. One clear route is to halt the continuous and public diplomatic fraternizing with members of the Union government, the hunting trips, the Ambassadorial speeches (widely reported in the press) stressing the bonds of friendship between the two governments. These contacts go far beyond the necessities of protocol, and they are distasteful to the real (African) opposition to Verwoerd. In a country where the opposition is accepted as legitimate and proper, it is possible to be in touch with both sides on this pleasant basis, but in South Africa it is not, and these associations imply a favoritism for the incumbents that is dangerous to American prestige.

The only immediate government-connected aid that the Union receives is through railway loans from the World Bank. But these mean quite a bit to the country's transport plans, and indeed to its Bantustan schemes, and repetition of them should be discouraged by the new Administration in Washington.

One immediate, positive opportunity we have involves the High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, which the South Africans have occasionally claimed because Basutoland is an enclave and the others adjoin the Union. Basutoland is the most important, because it is surrounded by South Africa, and because it is the most populous and most politically advanced. We can rely on the British to protect these territories against South African threats, but we should prod them a bit to push their development. The South Africans are anxious about political progress in these territories. In fact, political and economic development would make a lie of the South African insistence on the backwardness of its "Bantu," and thus make things that much more difficult for the Nationalists. In Basutoland, for example, the greatest needs are for roads, teachers and agricultural instructors, and while there are considerable problems of terrain and language, a sustained effort would show results in the not too distant future.

Such changes in our policy would not be without adverse consequences. We would not be aiding American investors in South Africa (their interests, while a negligible part of American overseas investment, are significant within the Union). But South Africa would be unlikely to react sharply against American capital already there, for it needs the investment. Further, any long-range American association with the oppression of South African labor harms the United States, and though American firms have been good employers in South Africa, they have still had no choice but to comply with the government's discriminatory and restrictive labor laws.

These suggestions are not addressed primarily to the problem of our relations with other African states. These relations would certainly be favorably affected by behavior consistent with our national purpose, but basically what we do with and for them will mean much more to the independent states of Africa than what we do about the Union. Rather these proposals are concerned with how we deal with an intolerable situation in South Africa itself. We must show our opposition to the racism it both professes and practices wherever we can, not only because we want to be able to influence a subsequent regime, but because anything else is self-betrayal. ADAM CLYMER

ADAM CLYMER, *a reporter for the Norfolk* Virginian-Pilot, *has traveled extensively throughout Africa.*

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Graham Greene's Leper Colony

by Patrick O'Donovan

A burnt-out case is a leper within whose body the disease has run its course. His nerves may be withered, his tissues eaten away, his face a mask of arrested corruption, his limbs butchered stumps, but the bacilli have gone. He is the victim of the most dreaded, if not most dreadful, disease in the world. But he is cured. Such a case is a ready made allegory of the spiritual state that so persistently fascinates Graham Greene.

A Burnt-Out Case
by Graham Greene
(Viking; $4.50)

It was known that Mr. Greene had recently visited the Congo and indeed the country, even without its political horrors, is a natural Greeneland. And so his latest novel is set in a *leproserie* far away in the bush up a tributary of the Congo river. It is run by busy, rather second-rate priests. It has an acerb and atheist doctor. Its climate is impossible. The Africa around is impersonally hostile. Here of course the natives are all diseased and, in addition, are promiscuous, divided without pain between two sorts of religion, remote, incomprehensible, brutish but not necessarily wicked. The food is frightful and the few white *colons* are not at all nice.

It's a well-known countryside now and Mr. Greene's readers have grown to love it. Into it there comes a M. Querry. He is a fugitive from success and from love and from God. He has been a great architect and has built great churches and he alone knows that they are bad churches. He has been a great lover – or at least a great performer – but he is sick of the act of love and is dying inside because he knows that he is incapable of loving. He was a Catholic who has lost his faith, not through neglect of his religion, nor really through intellectual conviction, but because the grace of God has withdrawn and left him like a dried starfish on the shore.

Querry is an empty man. He came up the river and he stopped at the *leproserie* because he could go no further. It is the point of this book that the worst thing that can happen to a man has happened to him. He no longer bothers about his art. His sexual irritations are still and he would not walk round the corner of a hut to find God again. He is a burnt-out case.

No Greene reader will expect this to be a work of piety or pity. It is, I suppose, a Catholic book though the Grace of God takes on an ugly look at times. There is no liking here for ceremony, or for Evelyn Waugh's open altars of the West. There isn't a whiff of incense and if any old traditions are admired, they are those of the Africans. This world is as bitter and as flat and tedious as old left-out beer. When Querry considers the community of priests who have taken him in, he does it thus:

> "He was vexed by the pleasure which they took in small things – even in the bottle of whiskey he had brought for them from the boat. Those who marry God, he thought, can become domesticated too – it's just as hum-drum a marriage as all the others. The word 'Love' means a formal touch of the lips as in the ceremony of the Mass, and 'Ave Maria' like 'dearest' is a phrase to open a letter."

The other characters fit in. There is a loathesome *colon*, very Catholic, who talks of love ("*agape* not eros") and finds such talk sexually stimulating. And there is a physical burnt-out case, an African whose name is Deo Gratias, who says little, whose arms end in knobs, but who is the one whole person in all the book. It is hardly necessary to add that the novel ends in tragedy, in senseless, unnecessary, squalid tragedy and that there is just a possibility that the tragedy is a triumph.

It is too easy to dismiss this as another version of Mr. Greene's formula. It is fairly easy to mock and very easy to hate the formula. After all, many men lose their faith, abandon their religion, and drift into apostacy with the polite indifference of gentlemen and continue to prefer to hear their faith well spoken of in their presence. Or else turn on their old faith with hatred and contempt because they see it as dangerous nonsense. And there are many too who have never known faith and don't miss it. The graduations of apostacy, agnosticism and atheism are infinite and the unhappinesses they cause are very rarely utterly destructive. The man who has lost his faith and withers with the horror of the emptiness is rare. And the man who has lost it all and feels no horror, but only an inert emptiness must be at least as rare as a saint. Certain ex-Communists who have been forced to abandon their faith by an agonizing intellectual process, seem to have suffered somewhat in this manner. This agony of loss is a fairly frequent subject for near-Catholic and near-Communist French novelists. It is a rare one for an Anglo-Saxon and it tends anyway to be distasteful to him.

The point of Mr. Greene's preoccupation is that, to him, this condition is the most dreadful and most important thing that could *conceivably* happen to a man, far worse than the condition of the burnt-out leper. The preoccupation is the product of the cold eye with which Mr. Greene regards his own faith. It is possible that no man has ever suffered as Querry has suffered, but that matters little. A man, a writer, an artist has the right and the duty to face man's predicament and Querry's predicament is, for Mr. Greene, the ultimate, the fine drawn out, the logical end of a fully aware man who has

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been deprived of what is more necessary than success, health or life itself. Few will agree with his logic because most will not accept his premise. But again the artist has a right to choose his premise and his work cannot be judged as a political pamphlet or a religious tract is judged. Mr. Greene has made his choice and it does not make for comfortable reading.

The Burnt-Out Case is an uncomfortable book. It is bound to be derided, because it has been done before, because it bears no relation to the real human condition or to the "great issues of our times," because its underlying theology smacks of quietism, because such an intellectual preoccupation with so theoretical and abstract and doubtful a concept is a bore. But, on the other hand, it could be read simply as a novel. And then it remains superb. If you can accept his unfashionable preoccupations or be fascinated by them as part of an artist's vision, then *The Burnt-Out Case* justifies itself with considerably more clarity than does the end of Querry.

Some Interpreters of Dixie

by William Chapman

The professional Southerner may fret that he is oppressed, maligned and misunderstood, but he can never complain that he is ignored. The urge, among historians and journalists, to interpret the South and its people is irresistible. Two decades ago Wilbur J. Cash swept the last cobwebs of mythology from his land and just a short time ago Harry Ashmore was writing Dixie's epitaph. But if Dixie is gone she is not forgotten. In the present package, for example, the dean of Southern historians takes the long look at this region; nine Southerners view their countrymen as Americans; a Northerner journeys South to watch the locals fighting over segregation; and a native Southerner tracks down the Negroes who went North.

The Burden of Southern History
by C. Vann Woodward
(Louisiana State; $3.50)

The Southerner as American
edited by Charles G. Sellers Jr.
(North Carolina; $5)

Revolt in the South
by Dan Wakefield
(Grove; $.95)

The Other Side of Jordan
by Harry S. Ashmore
(Norton; $3.50)

C. Vann Woodward is the best of Dixie's interpreters because he defines with greater precision than anyone else those things that have made and are making the South. Seven of the eight splendid essays in *The Burden of Southern History* volume have been published previously. (The exception is "A Southern Critique for the Gilded Age," an off-beat piece in which Woodward shows how three Yankee authors – Melville, Henry James and Henry Adams – used a Southern character to voice their own despair at what America was becoming in the dark days of triumphant materialism.)

In "The Search for Southern Identity," the first and best essay in this volume, Woodward is concerned with the details of Southern "differentness." If the South is truly melding in with the rest of the nation, he believes, it's time to pin down those elements of Southern history which made it so distinct. They are: poverty amid national abundance; failure amid national success; a preoccupation with guilt amid the nation's wonderment at its own innocence; slavery itself in a land which was "born free;" and finally the Southerner's personal commitment to the concrete and immediate and his fear of abstraction. These comprise the "collective experience of the Southern people," out of which has come some of the finest literature of our time.

"After Faulkner, Wolfe, Warren, and Welty no literate Southerner could remain unaware of his heritage or doubt its enduring value. After this outpouring it would seem more difficult than ever to deny a Southern identity, to be 'merely American'. To deny it would be to deny our history. And it would also be to deny to America participation in a heritage and a dimension of historical experience that America very much needs, a heritage that is far more closely in line with the common lot of mankind than the national legends of opulence and success and innocence."

By contrast, the nine essayists of *The Southerner as American* are concerned that the Southerner has been set too much apart, that historians have not detected his essential Americanism. All of them believe, their editor writes, "that the traditional emphasis on the South's differentness and on the conflict between Southernism and Americanism is wrong historically." But for some reason their collective message doesn't come through. The South may be bulldozed and industrialized into national norms; still its past is its own and there is little in these essays to convince this reviewer that the previous emphasis on Southern deviation has been misplaced.

But there are stimulating and original essays even if they do not sustain the advertised theme. In "An American Politics For The South," Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., convincingly argues that competitive politics, American-style, has in fact flourished in the one-party South. Nowhere in the United States were the conflicts deeper than during the heyday of Southern Populism. Yet even this fine essay must admit that a major American political force – middle-class progressivism – was largely ineffectual in the South. Dixie had its solid-citizen reformists but as a continuing, vital source of change they never matched their Yankee counterparts.

It would seem that the South's chain-reaction to May 17, 1954, would be sufficient to illustrate the peculiarities of that region, and if memories need refreshing Dan Wakefield's *Revolt in the South* should do the job. As a perceptive reporter for *The Nation*, Wakefield observed the South in turmoil from the first days of the Citizens Councils to the birth of the sit-ins. For him, the period began with a Citizens Council leader declaring that, "We're just not gonna do it," and ended with

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the Negro students vowing that, "Nothing can stop us." He tells us that the latter declaration heralded a new era whose dimensions are still not clear. The young Negroes who uttered it were not simply committing themselves to a new attack on social customs. As Wakefield notes, they were also rebuking their elders whose victories over legal segregation seemed too meager because they came too slowly. They have chosen to meet the enemy face to face, instead of in the courtroom, and to answer his threats with the doctrine of non-violence supplied by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.: "Do to us what you will and we will still love you, but be assured that we will wear you down with our capacity to suffer. . . ."

"That is the road they have set upon," says Wakefield, "and they have already passed the point of no return."

The "race problem," as the detached sociologists like to term it, is no longer confined to the South. More than half of America's Negroes now live outside the states of the Confederacy and the story of their migration has long needed telling. It needs deeper attention than Harry S. Ashmore gives it in *The Other Side of Jordan* but these twelve pieces, expanded from a series in *The New York Herald Tribune,* make a good start. Ashmore's report is often brilliant journalism, combining good, old-fashioned "digging" with sentiment and common sense.

There are glimpses of poverty in Harlem, of uneasy prosperity in suburbia, of bitter struggles within labor's councils and of some astoundingly cynical Negro politicians. "Silliest damned thing I ever heard of," says a Harlem boss about the drive to omit racial identifications in census reports. "How am I going to bargain for the Negroes if I can't prove where they are?"

Ashmore ends on a provocative question mark. He found samplings of a new militancy among Negroes in the North just as Wakefield encountered, in more dramatic form, in the South. He cites evidence of a "new and impressive cohesion in the Negro community" but he cannot say what it means. It is founded on a new pride in the Negro's own race and it may signify a rebellion against older leaders whose method is the closest possible cooperation with white liberals. Yet its goal is still integration – swifter, more complete integration than the present Negro leadership deems possible. Unable to define the new sentiment, or to predict what it may create, he is certain that "the time is past when the dominant white community could salve its conscience with ministrations of mercy and charity. Many depressed Negroes still stand in the need of such services, and of prayer too for that matter, but white largesse is no longer psychologically acceptable. Increasingly the Negro is insisting on standing on his own feet, and this seems a healthy and hopeful sign – painful though it certainly is to many whites who quite correctly diagnose it as a pressing threat to the status quo."

A Great Literary Spoof

by J. M. Edelstein

"There is a new school of poets, a new term to reckon with, a new theory to comprehend, a new manner to notice, a new humor to enjoy. It is the spectric school; composed, as far as the present publication goes, of a man, the cornerstone, and a woman, the keystone – Emanuel Morgan and Anne Knish."

This is the way Witter Bynner began his review of the then-new book of poems, *Spectra, A Book of Poetic Experiments* in *The New Republic* for November 18, 1916. Mr. Bynner ended his full-page review with the prophetic and masterful understatement: "... whether or not there be meaning or magic in the book, I can promise that there is amusement in it and that it takes a challenging place among current literary impressionistic phenomena." How right he was is the substance of William Jay Smith's delightful and witty account in *The Spectra Hoax* of one of America's most successful literary spoofs.

The Spectra Hoax
by William Jay Smith
(Wesleyan; $3.50)

It was not until almost two years after the publication of *Spectra,* when Witter Bynner was delivering a lecture on modern poetry and a young skeptic in the audience asked the direct question "Is it not true, Mr. Bynner, that you are Emanuel Morgan and that Arthur Davidson Ficke is Anne Knish?", and Bynner answered with equal directness "Yes," that the whole story of the Spectra hoax came out publicly.

When the Spectric school burst upon the literary scene in 1916, American poetry was in a ferment. New schools of poetic expression, each with its own aesthetic theory, flourished; the free verse, Imagist school of Amy Lowell was at its apogee; there were the Vorticists, the Futurists, the Chorists; there was a magazine called *Others* that had been founded with the motto "The old expressions are with us always and there are always others." One of the most influential and advanced of the little magazines, *Others,*

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in January, 1917, devoted a special issue to the Spectric school. Although there were a number of readers and reviewers of *Spectra* who had their doubts and suspicions about this full-blown new addition to the poetic renaissance, the Spectrists were an immediate success and steadily gained adherents in the avant-garde press.

How the hoax came about, we now know. In February, 1916, "Emanuel Morgan" and "Anne Knish" retired to a hotel room in Moline, Illinois (across the river from Ficke's house in Davenport, Iowa) and, in Ficke's words, "from ten quarts of excellent Scotch in ten days they extracted the whole of Spectric philosophy." It was Ficke who supplied Anne Knish's much discussed preface to the book of poems, claiming, as he later said, that only he could produce so "pretentious a farrago of semi-sensible, almost intelligible doctrine." Pittsburgh was decided upon as the home of Mr. Morgan and Miss Knish, "since interest in schools of poetry is not the big thing in the life of the average Pittsburgher." The two invented poets, the one an expatriate painter-turned poet who had lately come home to his native city, and the other, the tempestuous Hungarian beauty whose only previous work was a volume of poems in Russian, were soon writing further Spectric poems and critical articles for such magazines as Harriet Monroe's *Poetry*, Jane Heap's and Margaret Anderson's *Little Review*, and *Reedy's Mirror*, as well as Alfred Kreymborg's *Others*.

There may or may not be the significant overtones for the entire cultural scene which its publishers claim for this enjoyable literary detective story beyond those of the hoaxers hoaxed, of mischief compounded and of the fallibility of poets as poets and of critics as critics. But whatever else it is, this first full-length account of the Spectra hoax, with its valuable reprinting of the complete text of the original *Spectra*, is always very funny. Now, in another boom time of poetry, in an age when common sense is frequently forgotten and when, as Mr. Smith puts it, "so often dulness triumphs in the guise of novelty. . . . *Spectra* is a tonic reminder that it is always both helpful and healthful to laugh."

ART

A Minority Report on the Moderns

For something like thirty years James Thrall Soby has been a civilizing and constructive force in the American world of art. For more than a decade he was art critic of *The Saturday Review*. He has written more than thirty books on the art of our time, mostly monographs on individual artists. He has occupied with distinction various posts at the Museum of Modern Art, where he was responsible for numerous significant exhibitions and purchases. Before engaging in these public activities, and all the time since, he has been a collector whose interests are highly individual. The Soby Collection, already given or pledged to the Museum, is now on view at Knoedler's in New York City (through February 25), as a benefit show for the Museum's library.

As critic and as museum official, Mr. Soby has been concerned with introducing people to the wide range of modern art. He himself never doubted the width of that range and he has managed to awaken in himself and in many readers a sensitive appreciation of the sheer variety of valid ways of painting and sculpture within modern art. Awareness of that variety is all too rare at the best of times and it has been getting perceptibly rarer in the last dozen years. It is to be hoped that the show at Knoedler's will indeed benefit the Museum's extraordinary library, which needs – as much as any department in the institution – the additional space now being campaigned for. The collection itself is a benefit of great value to the Museum and to its visitors, past, present and future. But there is a further benefit the present exhibition can bestow upon its visitors.

The catalog, appropriately, is filled with quotations from Mr. Soby's writings over the years. Often enough the excerpts consist of a paragraph or two about specific pictures in the exhibition, sometimes set against a personal reminiscence of the artist in conversation. Of more immediate application is a quotation from the preface to his *Contemporary Painters*, published by the Museum of Modern Art in 1948:

> "It seems to me that we pre-empt a function of history when we attempt to decide unreservedly what kinds of art are truly 'modern' and what are static or reactionary. . . . I speak not only of intrinsic quality, but of possible meaning for later generations of painters. We are not going to settle in our time the direction art *must* take; now, as always, good painters will follow divergent paths to conflicting yet equally rewarding goals."

These are words for the ages, but they express a decidedly minority view in the American art world of the dozen years since they were written. The temptation to "decide unreservedly what kinds of art are modern and what static or reactionary" has been an ever-present danger for artist, critic, collector and museum official throughout this century, but never has it been so widely and enthusiastically embraced as in the last decade.

The pictures on exhibition themselves are something of a minority report on the painting of the century. The collection brings together a number of painters ordinarily thought of as rather removed from one another; yet not only are they here seen following "divergent paths to conflicting yet equally rewarding goals," the goals, in the collection, no longer seem as divergent as you might have thought. Most private art collections, except those assembled in a deliberate effort to touch all bases, reveal a basic unity of one kind or another. Like married couples, too, pictures that hang together in the same house sometimes, in the view of those who see them regularly, grow like each other. It is begging the question to observe that, after all, the pictures in a collection are chosen all by a single eye, a single sensitivity. The point is that that sensitivity can find the quality it seeks in so wide a range of paintings, paintings that, on the face of

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it, seem to have little in common. It is that little that brings them together and, in such a collection as this, it is that little that stands revealed as a new quality in works by painters you thought you already knew well.

The Soby Collection is distinguished by images, in the first place, in a modern art which has given the image less and less room on the canvas. Particularly when seen together, they specialize in a certain kind of image. Haunting, foreboding, eerie, detached, melancholy, brooding, this handful of words covers the dominant mood.

The tone, perhaps, is set by Giorgio de Chirico. This creator of "metaphysical" painting stands out not only because of the run of superb paintings of his owned by Mr. Soby but also because, today, this painter is not regularly encountered in exhibitions or histories of important 20th-Century art. Probably as central to the tone of the collection are the works of the two Russian-Americans, Léonid and Eugene Berman, the chief exponents of the short-lived "Neo-Romanticism" of the twenties. The Bermans have never suffered the outraged attacks that have been directed against de Chirico, but, again, their work is clearly to one side of what is received as the mainstream of modern art. Especially noteworthy in the show is Léonid's "Mussel Gatherers at High Tide," with the sea – and landscape of infinite flatness supporting the soaring vertical cloud structures, clouds which seem to etherealize the stances and gestures of the men in the boats.

Around such a core, it is not at all surprising that paintings by Klee, Dali, Balthus and Max Ernst are assembled in perfect harmony. But offhand one would not expect Juan Gris, that severe Cubist, to fit in. He does. A pencil drawing of Max Jacob has, in addition to the sensitive draughtsmanship of Gris, something of the haunted image quality. To most observers the work of Ben Shahn is handily divided into social protest and a wry lyricism. The two meet and become one in Soby's top Shahn, "Liberation." Three children whirl on a swing-around before the familiar European landscape of a bombed apartment house, a pile of rubble and chill spring sky.

The context of the collection easily relates the rough strength of Ben Shahn

so frightened and pathetic

This is Elena, Italian, age 3½. Her father is dead. Her mother, ill and worn, cannot find work. With her own tired hands and with old pieces of wood and tin, she put together a pitiful shack. You can imagine how bitter cold it is in winter. Last year, Elena, trying to warm herself at their brazier went too close and fell in, painfully carbonizing her little left hand. Her mother writes: "She cried so very much that I promised myself that for the coming year my child would have warm clothes and a doll. Where can I find such things for my little one? How can I protect her and help her?" Won't you help little Elena or a child like her? Your help today means their hope for tomorrow.

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to the exquisite delicacy of Loren MacIver. It is only honest to admit another effect of context on at least one observer. The Jasper Johns "White Target" looks infinitely better as an image among these images than it ever did as pure painting among pure paintings.

FRANK GETLEIN

MOVIES

Across the Great Divide

Arthur Miller, in his plays, has done some representative worrying for all of us about certain defects and defeats in contemporary life. Now he has broken a five-year silence with a screenplay called *The Misfits* in which he expresses further concern.

The premise is promising: a Chicago girl goes to Reno for a divorce, and there meets three Western men. She is desperate for reliable human relationships, they are in a last-ditch fight against the diminution of large-scale life. She lives with one of them, then the other two pursue her; after a mustang-hunting expedition which acts as a touchstone, she elects to remain with the first man.

It is pointless, if not offensive, to underscore that this screenplay is, in idea and much of its execution, several universes above most American films.

The Misfits
(United Artists)

But *The Misfits* is finally unsuccessful both in its treatment of its subject and as a use of the film form; and it is a cheerless task, because of respect for Miller and agreement with his concerns, to examine the reasons.

The film moves with Roslyn, the girl: she is one of the two chief searchers for truth and she is the cause of the revelation of truth to Gay, her lover. But what does her search consist of? In the beginning we are shown a highly insecure, neurotic girl. ("The trouble is I'm always back where I started".... "Maybe you're not supposed to believe anything people say. Maybe it's not even fair to them," etc.) Then, although she has just told Gay she doesn't feel "that way" about him, she moves in with him; and the first time they are visited by their friends, one of them tells her "You found yourself, haven't you?", and the other says, "You have the gift of life." Where did she get it? From then on this girl, but lately nervous and restless, is treated as the Eternal Feminine, in tune with the universe ("hooked in" with the stars). What produced this fantastic change? A few weeks of bliss with Gay? Can Miller seriously believe that?

And how does she effect a resolution in Gay? Through her extreme revulsion against pain – specifically against hunting. She won't let him kill a rabbit (although she never bats an eye when he tells her that their friend Guido goes eagle-killing in his plane); and on the horse-hunting trip, when she learns that the mustangs are to be killed for dog-food, she becomes so frenzied that Gay gives up the hunt and hunting and decides to change his mode of living. But how has this made him realize that the straitening of contemporary life is inevitable? He has known for some time that mustang-hunting is less than it was when he first did it to get stock for breeding and riding. Her hysteria is not persuasive as a reason for his seeing these facts more clearly. She would presumably have been equally hysterical in 1850 if he had been killing deer to feed himself and her. Her outburst is unrelated to the modern debasement of his mustanging, as such.

The author seems bemused by Roslyn, rather than perceptive about her. She is a night-club performer, who had an unsettled childhood and now makes her living by scantily clad "interpretive" dancing. We have no reason to believe her more than a good-hearted, highly sentimental showgirl, like hundreds of others, but the longer Miller looks at her, the more rich and mysterious qualities he sees in her. It is something like a man becoming infatuated with an attractive but undistinguished girl and, out of a sense of guilt, investing her with qualities which the world simply doesn't see.

This infatuation leads to some embarrassingly bathetic instances in her dialogue. "Birds must be brave to live out here. Especially at night...." Or when the drunken Guido starts working on his unfinished house in the middle of the night: "He's just trying to say hello...." Or, after an emotional scene, looking at the sky, "Help."

Miller has often had surprising lumps in his generally true dialogue. (In *Death of a Salesman* the vernacular Biff apologizes to his mother: "I've been remiss.") Here the mixture is as before. There is much acute and vivid writing; a phone-call to his mother by Perce, the third man, is a brilliant character sketch. Then we get literary utterances like Guido's "We're all blind bombardiers ... Droppin' a bomb is like tellin' a lie – makes everything so quiet afterwards."

In form this screenplay is basically uncomfortable because Miller is a theater-writer who has a generally orthodox and socially utilitarian view of theatrical art. Dialectical dialogue is its bloodstream. It is an honorable tradition, and *The Crucible* ornaments it; but it is not film-writing. Miller knows this and has tried to compensate for the verbal quality of this film by including some graphic visual elements, like the rodeo and the hunt. But essentially the story is "talked out." Indeed, these uncommonly loquacious Westerners almost seem to be competing for the girl by offering her their troubled souls. And when Gay and Roslyn go off together at the end, we get a fast, almost synoptic talking-into-final-shape of the theme. And this ending, after all the candid confrontation of harsh facts in our world, is as suddenly and incredibly "up-beat" as anything by the late Oscar Hammerstein.

John Huston's direction is his best in years, well-knit and hard, at times even recalling *The Treasure of Sierra Madre*. Too bad that his camera occasionally peers lubriciously down the girl's bodice or elsewhere to remind us that Roslyn is really Marilyn Monroe.

Miss Monroe, complete with hushed, monotonous voice and with eye make-up even after a night in the mountains,

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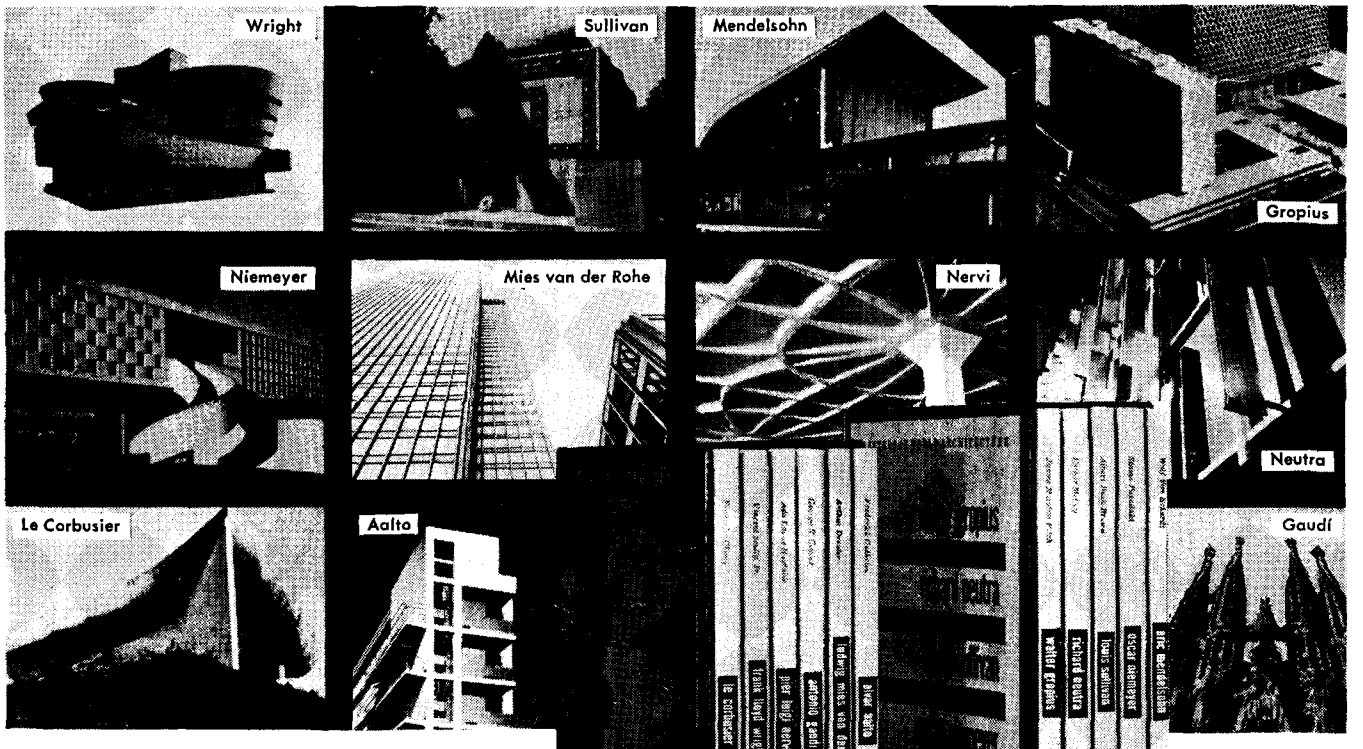

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copes more successfully with the neurotic than with the "elemental" qualities in her part. But at her best we sense that she has been coached and primed in thirty-second segments, which wouldn't matter if we weren't aware of it. Her hysterical scene near the end will seem virtuoso acting to those who are overwhelmed by the fact that she has been induced to shout.

In his last film Clark Gable has his best part since Rhett Butler and demonstrates why, although he was a transparently mechanical actor, he was a world-bestriding star. He radiates likeable, decent-roguish masculinity.

Eli Wallach, as Guido the ex-Army pilot, sounds less bronco-hunter than Bronx. There is something vulgar in this gifted actor's reliance on vulgarity as a *métier*. Montgomery Clift, who was last seen as a Westerner (unconvincingly) in *Red River*, here brings moving life to Perce, the battered young exile, who has nothing to live on but his willingness to get thrown off bucking horses.

Stanley Kauffmann

THEATER

Bertolt Brecht in Folio

During this fortnight of snow and slush, many of the new dramatic works have been as soggy, sloshy, and squashy as the city streets, so instead of dampening your waterlogged spirits with news from the theater, let me brace them with an invigorating report from publishing: Grove Press has just issued a fine, handsome, corpulent volume called *Seven Plays by Bertolt Brecht*. Since this is the first collected edition in English of a substantial number of plays by this remarkable dramatic poet, the publication is an event of the first magnitude, filling a desperate need which hitherto has been rather shamefully ignored.

Seven Plays
by Bertolt Brecht
edited and with an introduction
by Eric Bentley
(Grove; $8.50)

Eric Bentley has edited the volume, most appropriately since he is the foremost Brecht authority in America; he has also translated five of the plays and contributed a brilliantly suggestive introduction. Two works – *In the Swamp* (now being played at the Living Theater in another version called *In the Jungle of Cities*) and *A Man's a Man* – appear in print for the first time, rendered by Mr. Bentley. The other plays include Charles Laughton's free adaptation of *Galileo*, Frank Jones' version of *Saint Joan of the Stockyards*, and Mr. Bentley's earlier treatments of *Mother Courage*, *The Good Woman of Setzuan*, and (with Maja Apelnan) *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, all largely revised and improved. The selection is certainly rich and varied, each play being a masterwork from a different stage in Brecht's career; and the translations are generally terse, pithy, and hard-bitten, capturing Brecht's unique sound and rendering it in lyric-tough verse and prose. It should be noted, however, that five of these plays have been available for some time in Mr. Bentley's paperback and hard-cover anthologies. Considering that the price of the book is almost prohibitive, I would have been happier to see the already published works reprinted in a cheaper collection, and new translations of *Drums in the Night*, *Puntila*, *Arturo Ui*, *Schweik in the Second World War*, or even *Mahagonny* and *The Seven Deadly Sins* (since these works are not easily obtainable), included here. But, assuming that these will soon be forthcoming in a second volume, let me recommend the present book most highly. It does an admirable job of introducing Brecht to those relatively unfamiliar with his work, and may even force this dramatist, at last, into the consciousness of the American theater.

Up till now, Brecht has only hovered on the periphery of this consciousness, and even a casual reading of his plays will quickly demonstrate why: no modern dramatist seems more antithetical to Broadway's customary expectations and demands. This is not to say that Brecht's impact has not been indirectly felt in our theater. Some of his technical innovations, for example, have obviously managed to find their way past the Broadway mainstream of psychological realism into the gimmicks of Thornton Wilder and the conventions of musical comedy. But since Brecht's total theater – with its cabaret atmosphere, its chronicle structure, its shamelessly two-dimensional characters, its exotic-imaginary settings, its textured yet simple dialogue, and its free use of song and mime – embodies the most effective use of the stage in our time, his formal influence has been, in a sense, irresistible.

On the other hand, Brecht designed his theater carefully to support a very precise vision, and it is this that has been totally ignored, being wholly alien to the easy affirmations of Broadway humanism. For Brecht's estimate of the human spirit is, to put it mildly, very low. In a play like *A Man's a Man*, which chronicles the metamorphosis of one man into another simply through the transference of identity papers, he seems to doubt the existence of human individuality altogether: "Why all this fuss about people? One's as good as none at all. It's impossible to speak of less than 200 at a time." In common with his fellow Germans, Buechner and Wedekind, Brecht has a fascinated obsession with human cruelty, deterioration, and bestiality; in common with pre-Marxist playwrights like Ben Jonson, John Gay and Henri Becque, he objectifies this obsession by depicting man as a predatory animal, motivated entirely by economic demands. In place, then, of the love-duty conflict of earlier drama, Brecht substitutes a conflict between generosity

Notes on Contributors

Patrick O'Donovan, *a foreign correspondent for* The Observer *(London) has recently visited the Congo.* William Chapman *is a reporter for* The Washington Post. J. M. Edelstein *is a young research scholar.*

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and self-interest, his invariable conclusion being that greed always triumphs.

Before his conversion to Marxism, Brecht took this triumph to be a fact of a cruel and unheeding universe – after, it became an inevitability of the capitalist system. Yet, unlike Shaw – who was attracted mainly to the utopianism of Marx and who remained convinced throughout his life that man, rather than evil, was capable of inward and outward change – Brecht seems to have found in Marx a systematic discipline for his inherited sense of original sin. Vague appeals for political action ("Change the world; it needs it") are studded throughout his work, but there is more than a suggestion that the capitalist system is merely the institutional reflection of the basic inhumanity of man. In Brecht's theory, human virtue is a luxury which can be afforded only when the human appetites are appeased; but in his practice, eating and morality often seem naturally and inevitably opposed.

Thus, while much has been made of the "charm" of Brecht's characters, most of them have the pretty teeth of the shark; for, however, engaging their individual behavior, they are involved in a voracious struggle for existence which makes them prey upon each other like monsters from the deep. Mr. Bentley observes that the Berliner Ensemble is forced to act like a "fire brigade" to douse the flow of sympathy that the audience often feels for characters that Brecht would indict. Yet, Rudolph Hoess, the average (and sometimes "charming") family man of Auschwitz, is able to command much the same kind of sympathy even as we are reading, in his memoirs, that he ordered the gassing of two million Jews. "The fact is," writes Mr. Bentley, "that if the Nazis had never existed, Brecht would have invented them," and he is exactly right. While Shaw looked back to the untroubled benevolence of William Morris and Edward Bellamy, Brecht looked forward to the poisonous malevolence of Hiroshima, the Soviet slave labor camps, and the Nazi extermination machines. Broadway humanism survives these facts mainly by ignoring them, but it is Brecht's function to keep them constantly before our eyes.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

The Measure of Robert Kennedy

Sirs:

Alexander Bickel premises his article (January 9) on the statement that the Attorney General – then designate – "has demonstrated specific grounds of disqualification." Mr. Bickel then cites conduct that is said to demonstrate that Robert F. Kennedy *"is not fit for the office."*

What does qualify an individual to be the highest legal officer of the US? The traditional qualification seems to have been political. Many, if not most, of the men who have held the office have had this qualification and no other. Then there is experience: A good law school, The Law Review, a clerkship, an established practice, an officer of a bar association. I suspect there is no more correlation between such experience and the conclusion that one is qualified to be Attorney General than there is justification in the old saw that prior judicial experience is necessary to make a good Justice of the Supreme Court. There is also the matter of nepotism. However, I think the word is much worse than the fact, and the doctrine concerning tainted blood has not recently been suggested as a ground for disqualification.

What is left to measure the man? In my opinion there are no absolute standards of qualification and fitness; and if Mr. Bickel has discovered one, it is his duty to disclose it forthwith.

Perhaps the only valid measure of a man's qualification involves a bit of tempered wait and see. Such a measure is at present available vis-à-vis the Attorney General: It consists of the standard used by the Attorney General in selecting his associates and assistants in the Department of Justice. Here we have something tangible if we know the measure of the man selected. In this writer's opinion, the Attorney General has asked men of excellence to take the positions of his Deputy and Assistant Attorneys General.

Unless the Attorney General is a man of sub-marginal intelligence, and not even his most vigorous critics have suggested this to be the case, he knows full well that he will have to act through his associates and assistants. If the Attorney General is bent on the summary destruction of certain individuals, as Mr. Bickel suggests, he was out of his mind in staffing the Department of Justice as he has done to date.

Admittedly, Mr. Bickel did not have knowledge of the men who were to be asked to serve in the Department of Justice when he wrote. However, the date of his writing was of his own choosing. Had he waited to jump to his unlawyer-like conclusion of "not fit for office," he too might be willing to concede that on the basis of the men he has asked to work with him, Robert F. Kennedy is not only fit for the post, he may well be a very great Attorney General.

Robert L. Randall
Washington, D. C.

Die Neue Propaganda

Sirs:

I am shocked and angered (as I am sure many thousands of other Americans will be) to receive in the mail a copy of the "Special Edition" (sic) of the *Berliner Illustrirte.* This expensive

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slick-paper magazine, superbly illustrated and printed, is being sent to 200,000 Americans by its multi-millionaire publisher, Axel Springer, of Berlin, who calls it "a message of friendship to the people of the US."

Sandwiched between pictures of barebosomed actresses and sleek models are page after page of the old symbols of hate and fear for the Russians. Here is the church behind the barbed wire; the widow denied her husband's grave; the obviously faked diary of the wretched East Berliner; the Communist youth who, says Herr Springer, is "the spiritual heir to Hitler" (forgetting his own swastika-wearing, Jew-baiting adolescent hooligans) . . . And to top-off this brew of evil, a roaring, spitting tirade against the Russians by Col. Frank Howley, the much publicized commander of our forces in Berlin just after the war who so baited and bullied the Russians that they called him "the Beast of Berlin."

I am no Englishman, but I remember Edith Cavell; no Pole, but I cannot forget Lidice. I do not worship in the Jewish faith, but Belsen and Auschwitz are names that twist my heart with shame and guilt. I am a simple American who, twice in his lifetime, had to put down his peaceful work and risk his life when his country took up arms to subdue a gangster nation whose aim was to "bury" us deeper than Khrushchev ever boasted.

At the end of this precious "Special Edition," printed on a blood-red page, are the "conditions" under which America must undertake to return Berlin to a "free" Germany. For sheer impudence, for incredible arrogance, one has to go back to bully-boy Goering to match this.

Charles Pemberton
New York, New York

Criticism and Journalism

Sirs:

I feel impelled to dispute one statement in Robert Brustein's fine article, *Criticism and Journalism* (January 23) – the statement that "a critic working in a journalistic capacity, unwilling to lower his standards, and continually confronted with the spurious, the mediocre, and the false, can become . . . an aesthetician of acting like Stark Young. . . ." My recollection of Young's unique writing in the twenties and thirties is that he did not – when confronted with the spurious, the mediocre and the false – concern himself only with the acting. Whatever presented itself to him in the theater, good or bad, he employed his extraordinary perception, experience and expertise in a serious critical evaluation of every element in it – not only the actors' use of voice, body, gesture, make-up, but the operation of the director, the contribution of the designer of scenery and costumes, the initial work of the playwright.

B. H. Haggin
New York, N. Y.

Galbraith Distorted

Sirs:

In "The Slowdown of Customers," (January 9) Stanley Ruttenberg makes a surprising distortion of the economic views of Galbraith and other economists when he says: "The Galbraithean group believes that we need to allocate more to public investment and consumption, but that private consumption must be suppressed."

This is far from Galbraith's view. What Galbraith suggests, in his *The Affluent Society*, is that public services must "keep abreast" of private consumption, not that private consumption should be suppressed, or even diminished.

Nor does Galbraith's doctrine of "social balance" between public services and private consumption trend in the direction of diminution of private consumption. On the contrary, it is only when this "social balance" is wisely preserved that private consumption as well as public services can each increase unfettered by imbalances, thus promoting the welfare of all.

Benjamin H. Kizer
Spokane, Washington

Making Monetary Policy

Sirs:

I have just finished reading Michael Reagan's article "Who Will Make Monetary Policy?" (February 6). Let me say that as a student of money and banking, I believe that Mr. Reagan's

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idea "to repeal the fixed term provision and give the President the same executive freedom vis-à-vis the Fed that Dean Landis has proposed for all other regulatory commissions" is *sour.*

First, the Federal Reserve System is not a regulatory commission, but rather a *quasi* governmental agency designed (1) to accommodate business, finance and agriculture; (2) promote the Employment Act of 1946; and (3) promote economic growth.

Second, The Federal Reserve System is and must remain an independent agency *within* and not from the government. This decision of placing the Federal Reserve as an independent agency within the government was fostered by the "Douglas Report" (1950) and affirmed by the "Patman Report" (1952). It is still valid.

If the Federal Government wishes to better coordinate monetary-fiscal policy, let it do so through an informal agency. Perhaps something similar to the National Monetary Council in international finance, rather than Mr. Reagan's unwarranted suggestion, will serve the economy best.

Stephen J. Canner
Worcester, Mass.

Confusion in the Middle East

Sirs:

I found Elizabeth Monroe's article on the Middle East, (January 30) an excellent analysis. Egypt's initial progress under Muhammad Ali gave promise for an enlightened hegemony of the Arab world but its geographic position astride the Suez Canal led to interference by the European powers and to their support of corrupt puppet kings. Syria, the other contender for Arab leadership, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire found itself under a French mandate. A whole generation of Syrians schooled themselves in tactics of opposition to government. Jordan is an artificial state whose sole reason for existence was Britain and its subsidy. The non-Arab muslim country, Iran, is not a nation but an Empire. About half of its peoples speak a language other than Persian: Arabic, Turkish, Armenian, Hebrew, and Turku dialects. The primary loyalties of its peoples are to their tribe, family, or village, not to the Shah in Teheran.

The complexities of the Middle East, of Arab, Israeli, Turk, and Iranian interests, not to mention Kurds, Armenians, Turku tribespeople, etc., antedate the Eisenhower Administration. Things will somehow continue to go wrong during the Kennedy Administration also. Let us be prepared to expect that our best efforts will continue to meet with frustrations (and so will those of the Communists).

Richard Kegel M.D.
Visiting Professor,
Iran, 1958-60

Report from Guam

Sirs:

Since I might possibly be your only subscriber living on Guam (a pretentious assumption perhaps), I feel that it is incumbent upon me to protest TRB's aspersion (January 30) on the whereabouts of this lovely isle. To be perfectly honest, I was delighted to find Guam mentioned and have had great fun showing it off to my friends.

I recall that there were quite a few puzzled looks from people when I informed them of my orders to this westermost territory of the US some 18 months ago. I hope that all your readers who weren't sure dashed to their Atlases so that they now know *exactly* where Guam is. We have a saying out here which I don't believe TRB is aware of – "Guam is Good." It really is. And we're proud that Guam had a float in that parade – even if it was last!

John E. Wagner, Lt., USN
US Naval Supply Depot
Guam

Monopoly in Medicine

Sirs:

It is downright comical the alacrity with which the American Medical Association reacts to any proposed advance in medical economics, such as the Forand Bill giving medical care to old people on Social Security. . . . How long must we tolerate this monopoly which, like any other, seeks to limit supply for higher profits?

Mrs. M. L. Armistead
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